

MID-AMERICA

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(Formerly ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW)

VOLUME XII
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NUMBER 3

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Journal of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society
28 NORTH FRANKLIN STREET, CHICAGO

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EARLY EXPLORERS OF THE SOUTHWEST

Like an Arabian Night's tale does the story of the shipwrecked Spaniards of the ill-fated Narvaez Expedition to America unfold itself.¹ During the voyage and attempted explorations most of the party were lost. Encouraged and stimulated by the great achievements of other conquistadores and wishing to obtain fame equal to that of Cortes, Panfilo de Narvaez projected a settlement to be made in the territory bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, which had previously been discovered by Francis de Garay, Governor of the Island of Jamaica. Five vessels, containing about six hundred persons, embarked from Spain on June 17, 1527. Along with these prospective settlers came some secular priests and five Franciscan friars. The commissary of these religious was Padre Juan Xuarez. Another member who wished to exercise his religious zeal was Fray Juan de Palos, a lay brother. He was one of the original band of missionaries, the first foundation of the Franciscans in Mexico. Ac-

¹ Nufiez, Alvar (Cabeça de Vaca), *La Relacion que dio*; *ibid*, *Relacion de los Naufragios*; Purchas, *Collection* (English translation), Vol. XVIII; Smith, Buckingham, *Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaca* with appendix by John Gilmary Shea giving appreciation of the translator's work; Oviedo y Valdes, *Hist. Ind.*, lib. 35, chap. I-VII, pp. 582-618; Fernandez, Pedro; *La relacion y comentarios*; see also Barcia, Andres G., *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*, Vol. I: Ardoino, Antonio; *Examen Apologetico*; Plantus, Caspar, *Nova Typis Transacta*; Ramusio, Giovanni B., *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, III, 310-330; Ternaux-Compans, Henri, *Voyages*, serie I, tom. VII. The above references are the chief original sources for the Narvaez Expedition. Buckingham Smith's scholarly translation in English, second edition, has been carefully followed throughout.

Besides these original sources Davis, W. H., *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 20-108, is helpful because of the notes and suggestions. The chief secondary materials are: Herrera, Antonio de, *Historia General* dec. IV, lib. IV, cap. V-VI; dec. VI, lib. I, cap. III-VII; lib. IX, cap. XI; Gleeson, W., *Hist. Cath. Ch.*, I, 45-64; Simpson, J. H., *Coronado's March in Smithsonian Rept.* 1869 p. 310; Lummis, Chas. F., *Spanish Pioneers*, pp. 100-117. Bancroft H., *Hist. N. Mex. States and Texas*, 60-70; Winsor, Justin, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Amer.*, Vol II (two articles, one by Shea, John Gilmary, *Ancient Florida*, p. 242 *et seq.* the other by Haynes, Henry W., *Early Explorations of New Mexico*, p. 474 *et seq.*); Shea, John Gilmary; *Cath. Ch. in Col. Days*, I, 108-111.

cording to Torquemada, Padre Xuarez belonged to the province of San Gabriel, and first came to America in 1523. He was soon made guardian at the convent established at Heuxalzinco, and was regarded by the Indians of that place as a most saintly man. Just before the prospective expedition he returned to Spain and received authorization from his superiors to carry the Gospel into this new field. After many months at sea Narvaez reached Santo Domingo, where in an attempt to land some of the vessels were wrecked in a storm. Some of the members of the expedition deserted at this time so that there were only three hundred and forty-five left. More violent tempests occurred in an attempt to reach the Gulf of Mexico. The commander of the fleet tried to seek shelter in the harbor of Havana, where he expected also to lay in a fresh store of provisions for the continuation of the journey, but he found it impossible, on account of poor seamanship and the heavy sea, to make the port. The ships were driven on the coast of Florida near what is now Apalache Bay. With vessels all in a battered condition and with no food in sight, the entire colony found itself in a very sad predicament. Wandering about like lost, they travelled inland and their numbers were fast being thinned by starvation, disease, and attacks by hostile Indians. Narvaez took counsel with his men, and asked each one his opinion as to the best plan of action in this dire extremity. The decision was finally reached that they should skirt the Gulf until they arrived at some Spanish settlement in Mexico. They had gone so far astray from their forced landing place that it was almost fatal for them to retrace their steps.

Without ships and in their enfeebled condition it was impossible to travel. All agreed that new vessels should be built, but there was no one who knew sufficient to construct these boats. To add to the difficulty, there were no tools or materials at hand. Gnawing hunger with its deathlike visage haunted these haggard adventurers day by day.

In that dark, grim hour that also tried men's souls their ingenuity became productive. Necessity, then as now, gave birth to invention. Bellows, supplied with pipes made from hollowed out logs and with deer skin, soon gave life and heat to the glowing forge. Stirrups, spurs and other iron articles were gathered together, and from these materials nails, saws, axes and other tools were made. The daily rations consisted of horse flesh. Two of these animals were killed every week, to condition, re-

vive and strengthen the men who labored on the boats. This work was commenced on August 4, 1528, and completed on the twentieth of September of the same year. Palm-leaf fibre and pine tree resin were used for caulking. The ropes and riggings were supplied from the manes and tails of the horses that had been slaughtered and from their tanned hides water bottles and other containers were provided.

As soon as these five boats, each thirty-five feet long, were ready, preparations were made to continue the sea voyage. On the twenty-second of September all but one horse had been consumed. The food from that day on consisted of a little raw maize. Each boat carried about fifty men and in one of these vessels Narvaez, Father X Suarez and his companions embarked. The whole party followed the Gulf coast, keeping it constantly in sight; but in spite of this precaution they were whipped and driven by terrible storms and were at the mercy of the waves.

About dawn on the sixth of November, Cabeza de Vaca, who was in charge of one of the boats, was aroused by the breaking of the surf and communicated with Narvaez about the nearness of the land. After a sounding had been taken, the boat was found to be in seven fathoms of water. Advice was given by the commander of the fleet that all should keep to sea until sunrise, but a huge wave threw De Vaca's boat violently out of the water and all the people, half-naked and half dead from cold and hunger, were aroused from their state of coma and began to crawl on hands and knees from the boat to the dry land.

The boats of Narvaez and the missionaries continued on, but the seamen who worked at the oars and sails were unskilled, and the clumsy vessels capsized with all on board. Of the clergy, only Father Asturiano escaped a watery grave, but he did not long survive his brethren. Of the gallant and fearless host, which gayly sailed away from Spain in the middle of June, 1527, only eighty now remained. These were soon reduced by famine, exposure and pestilence to fifteen, and were scattered among the Indian tribes as slaves. The place where this third shipwreck occurred was called Malhado Island or Island of Misfortune. According to some authorities Galveston is about the location where these disasters happened and where the few survivors came ashore.

Cabeza de Vaca remained on the island over a year, subject to the harshest treatment and the most painful servitude. From these arduous labors he finally escaped to the mainland. Here

he met Oviedo, another member of the ill-fated expedition and both went down the coast to the bay called Espiritu Santo, which had been noted by the earlier coastal explorers Garay and Piñeda in 1519. Oviedo returned to Malhado, but Cabeza de Vaca became a slave again in another tribe. He soon fell in with the other few survivors of the wrecked party, Andres Dorantes, Alonso de Castillo Maldonado and Estevanico, an Arabian negro, who was destined to play an important part in other exploring parties in the Southwest.

The wanderings of this group, northwestward through Texas, were directed towards the San Saba mountains, and they then proceeded due west, covering the area between that point and California. This was the first party of overland travellers in what is now the southern part of the United States.

In his own humble way De Vaca instructed the natives in the doctrines of Christianity and in the performance of good works. He was frequently called upon to heal the sick. At first he hesitated to invoke the Divine Power; but when the Indians urged him, and placed those afflicted with painful maladies and diseases before him, he was filled with confidence in God, who had been his Protector on so many recent occasions. He was fortunate enough to succeed in his first attempts. His method of curing their distress was by the laying on of hands and by the prayers of Holy Church. That these alleviations of suffering were due to supernatural interposition were the beliefs and the convictions of both the Spaniards and the Indians. The fame of the miracle man spread far and wide, and his presence was requested by many tribes. "Whatever may have been the cause of their success," says Bancroft, speaking of these wanderers in the wilderness, "it satisfactorily accounts for the safety with which they made the trip. They were received with uniform kindness by every tribe, supplied always with the best the natives had, besieged at every town with petitions for a longer stay and exercise of their healing powers, and finally escorted to the next people on the way often by thousands of attendants."

For six years or more Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions wandered naked among the many hostile and barbarous tribes, from Florida to the Pacific Coast, enduring all the hardships of exposure and enslavement forced on them by the savages with whom they came in contact. Finally, they reached Culiacan in Sinoloa on May 1, 1536, where De Vaca related their harrowing experiences.

The news of these great discoveries in the northern wilderness spread like wild-fire. The glowing descriptions regarding wonderful places and many strange people who inhabited them were related to Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy of New Spain, who in turn gave the good tidings to Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, his close friend and advisor. He had recently been appointed by the Viceroy Governor of Nueva Galicia. Other eager and adventurous explorers and zealous missionaries were not lacking, who offered their services. Coronado repaired immediately to investigate still further the reports of discoveries made. He summoned to his presence three Franciscan friars and the negro Estevanico, whom he employed as guide because of his previous experience with De Vaca. He selected from the monks, Fray Marcos de Niza, because he had a knowledge of exploration, acquired under Alvarado in Peru, and because of his character and other attainments for he was one of the higher superiors of the Franciscan order in Mexico. The missionary next repaired to Mendoza, who gave him further instructions. He was ordered to make a preliminary journey, and to prepare the way for permanent occupation and settlement of the country.² As a result Fray Marcos de Niza obtained the permission of his superiors to preach the Gospel to the natives, and, moreover, received instructions from the Viceroy to penetrate still further into the land of mystery, where no white man had ever trodden. "If God, Our Lord, pleases," he said, "that you find any large town, where it seems to you that there is good opportunity for establishing a convent, and of sending religious to be employed in conversion, you are to advise me by Indians or to return in person to Culiacan. With all secrecy you are to give notice, that preparation be made without delay, because the service of our Lord and the good of the people of the land is the aim of the pacification of whatever is discovered." Padre Marcos took Estevanico, the negro, with him as a guide, for the latter had

² Niza, Marcos de, *Descubrimiento de las Siete Ciudades* in Pacheco, *Documentos ineditos*, tom. III, 325-350; Ramusio, Giovanni B., *Navigazioni*, vol. III, 354-59; Hakluyt, Richard, *Divers Voyages*, vol. III, 438; Ternaux-Compans, Henri, *Voyages*, Serie I, Tom IX, pp. 256-84, 287-90, 349-54; Herrera, Antonio de, dec. VI, Lib. VII, cap. VIII *Historia General*; Davis, W. H., *Span. Conq. N. Mex.*, 114-31; Engelhardt, Zephyrin, *The Franciscans in Arizona*, Chap. I; Bandelier, A. F., *Contributions to the History of the Southwest*; Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*; Arrievita, *Chronica Seraphica*, prologo; Winship, G. P., *14th Annual Rpt. Bur. Ethnol.*; Lummis, Chas. F., *Span. Pioneers*; Twitchell, R. E., *Leading facts of New Mexican History*; *ibid*, *Span. Archives N. Mex.*; Shea, J. Gilmary, *Cath. Ch. in Colonial days*, Vol. I, p. 115; Bancroft, H. H., *The North Mex. States*, 75-77; Whipple, A. W., *Rpt. Explor. Railroad*.

travelled with Cabeza de Vaca from the Gulf to the Pacific Coast. The missionary was asked to make a reconnaissance of the country through which he travelled. He was told to observe particularly the physical features, number of rivers, fertility of the soil and the minerals and precious stones. Specimens of these metals were to be gathered, reports made of the routes followed, and places visited. Finally, he was to take possession of the new country in the name of the king.

Fray Marcos gave definite information of the explorations he made. He was but three days on his journey when Fray Honoratius, his travelling companion, took sick and was left behind. He travelled for four days through the hot desert and came to a people who had no knowledge whatever of Europeans. They regarded the Franciscan in his brown religious habit as a "man sent from heaven" and in deep reverence they endeavored to touch his garment. The missionary tried to instruct them about "God in heaven and His Majesty upon earth."

It was among this tribe that Fray Marcos first heard about the seven cities of Cibola. He then travelled on for three days until he reached Vacapa, where he rested for a long time, while Estevanico accompanied by over three hundred members of the party, mostly Indians, was set in search of this region, that was described as "a country, the finest in the world."

After several days' journey, one of the cities had been reached, and a messenger was despatched back to Vacapa to inform Fray Marcos of the discovery. Three Indians also, with their faces, hands and breasts painted, came on that same day and confirmed the reports that had been made in regard to that country. Other messengers soon arrived from Estevanico, urging Fray Marcos to hasten his departure from Vacapa. As they proceeded on their way, as an escort to the missionary, they told of other great kingdoms called Marata, Acus and Totontenac. They spoke of people with finely woven cotton garments, and mantles made of skins, as well tanned as those in the most civilized countries in Europe. He journeyed on, passing through villages, in which he was kindly received, and where they brought sick people to him to be cured. He generally recited the Gospels over them. The territory that he next entered was the finest he had seen in his whole journey. He therefore took formal possession of it in the name of the king, according to instructions given by the Viceroy, and erected two crosses to mark the spot as one most desirable for later settlement.

After crossing a rich fertile valley at about 35° north latitude, a country more thickly populated, for there were hamlets almost every half league, he halted at the edge of the desert to rest for a short time. He had heard that Estevanico had passed on several days before, well provisioned, and he himself had been urged to pursue a similar course. For almost a fortnight he continued his toilsome and weary march, resting in the cabins that had recently been occupied by the negro and his escort. As Marcos and his select group trudged along the trackless waste, an Indian became visible in the distance. As he drew near, he was found to be covered with dust and sweat. Grief and terror were deeply stamped in every line of his face and mouth. He related the story of Estevanico's approach to the most famous of cities, where the chief ruler lived; how he delivered his staff of office to him as a signification of his peaceful intentions; how the governor angrily rejected this token of friendship, and threatened the entire exploration party with death should they dare to enter the city. Hungry, thirsty and fatigued, they rested near the bank of a river, but the people of Cibola attacked them, and slew nearly all the companions of the negro guide. He hid himself behind some rocks and for a while managed to avoid capture. Finally, he took to flight pursued by the people of Cibola, who caught and imprisoned him and afterwards put him to death. Estevanico, contrary to the orders of his superior, Fray Marcos, had attempted to enter the first city of Cibola, and paid the price for his disobedience.

The padre, when he heard of the misfortune that had come to the negro guide and so many other members of his expedition, was very much concerned. He trembled with fear and indignation. He was very much troubled that the ill-regulated ambition of Estevanico to reach these seven cities would also bring about his own failure to achieve his set purpose; and the thought that he would be compelled to return to Mexico without the desired information about these strange peoples and their abodes in the midst of the wilderness almost filled him with despair. This predicament was intensified by the wailings of the Indians as they heard the pitiful story.

In this agitation of mind he journeyed on, at the same time consoling his companions. Some had even threatened to desert him. He tried to placate them with presents. Here indeed was his Gethsemani. He withdrew at a short distance, fell on his

knees and prayed for an hour and a half, asking God's protection and guidance. In that bitter agony, the Indians acting as his escorts plotted the Father's death. He arose from the ground comforted, ready to meet the situation, and determined by the will of God to reach his destination should he be spared. When within a day's journey of Cibola, Fray Marcos met two more of Estevanico's Indian companions. They showed the wounds they had received from arrows and told again the story of death and destruction that had practically wiped out this advance guard of the expedition.

But the Franciscan friar was not daunted by these perils that surrounded him. His own followers noted his determination and he even persuaded two chieftains to accompany him to an elevation where he could view the marvellous city. He beheld a pueblo, "situated in a plain at the foot of a round hill, and that makes show to be a fair city." The houses "were built in order and made of stone with divers stories and flat roofs." Fray Marcos planted a cross in the centre of a heap of stones near at hand, took possession of the entire region in the name of the king, and called the country, *El Nuevo Reino de San Francisco*, The New Kingdom of St. Francis.

The journey of the friar back across the desert was sorrowful. The Indians who had acted as escorts and interpreters and had sacrificed their lives were mourned by their relatives. The padre was held indirectly responsible because he was leader of the expedition. His reception among these various tribes so alarmed him that he hastened his steps. In a short space of time he was at Compostella, where he found Coronado and also immediately informed the Viceroy of his return.

The fascinating report of Alvar Nuñez and the marvellous story of Fray Marcos de Niza kindled the enthusiasm of all Spanish adventurers to fever heat. Cortes, who had aspirations for northern explorations, became alarmed at the rivalry for fame and wealth that the new discoveries had created, fitted out a fleet, and placed Francisco de Ulloa in command. By this means he hoped to get the start of his chief competitors, but the expedition terminated disastrously.

In the meantime, Coronado was not idle. He despatched Melchor Diaz and Juan de Zandivar to verify the report made by Niza to the Viceroy. He, himself, also hastened to the capital, where Mendoza approved the entire scheme of conquest and

encouraged it by his own influence and authority.³ The glowing accounts of the friars were broadcasted everywhere. These marvellous tales, in some instances, were purposely exaggerated so as to attract members. Three hundred Spaniards, mostly men of the highest rank and best families, enlisted. To this group were added eight hundred Indians.

Fray Marcos de Niza had meanwhile been reappointed the Provincial of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel and he used all the powers of his office to further the entrada, which he hoped would eventually lead to permanent settlement. Here the holy zeal of the sons of St. Francis could be exercised for the conversion of souls and the civilization of the barbarous native tribes. The pulpits everywhere rang with the startling announcement of this glorious crusade. In fact Fray Marcos

³ Pacheco, *Documentos ineditos*, tom. XIX p. 318 et seq. contains *Relacion del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vasquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cibola*. See also Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion de varios documentos; Traslado de las nuevas y noticias . . . de Cibola* in Pacheco, *Doc. ined.*, tom. XIX, p. 304 et seq. See also Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 155 et seq. Ternaux-Compans, Henri (ed.), *Relation du Voyage de Cibola enterpris in 1540*; Castaneda, Pedro de, *Relation de Voyage de Cibola* in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*, 1st ser. tom. IX; Hakluyt, Richard, *Voyages*, III; Ramusio, *Navigazioni*, III, p. 395 et seq. contain report transmitted to Viceroy Mendoza from Cibola, entitled: *Relatione de Francisco Vazquez de Coronado del viaggio alle dette setta cita* (See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, VII, p. 446 for English translation.) The Quivira Relation of Coronado in Pacheco, *Doc. ined.*, tom III, p. 363; French trans. in Ternaux-Compans, Henri, *Voyages*, IX, p. 355 et seq. Emory, Wm. H., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*; Gallatin, Albert, *Ancient Semi-civilization of N. Mex. in the Transactions Amer. Ethnol. Soc.* Vol. II, p. liii; Bandelier, A. F.; *Hist. Intro. to Studies among the Sedentary Ind. of N. Mex. (Papers of the Archeolog. Inst. of Amer., Amer. Ser. No. 1, 1881)*, *ibid.*, *Contributions to Hist. of the Southwest*; Squier, E. G., *New Mex. and Cal. Ancient Monuments, etc.*, in *Amer. Rev.*, Nov., 1848; Simpson, J. H., *Journal of a Military Reconnoissance from Santa Fe to the Navajo Country*, in *Senate Exec. Doc. No. 64, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 1850*; *ibid.*, *Coronado's March in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola in Annual Rpt. Smithsonian Inst. 1869*. See also *Journal of Amer. Geograph. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 194, and *Geograph. Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 86; Winship, George Parker *The Coronado Expedition in Fourteenth Annual Rpt. Bur. Ethnol.*, Part 1, pp. 329-637 (1896); Donoghue, David, *Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas (With Map) in Southwestern Hist. Quart.*, XXXII, pp. 181-192. (Takes issue with findings of both Simpson and Winship); Whipple, A. W. and Turner, W. W., *Pacific Railroad Rpts*, III; Breckenridge, H. M., *Early discoveries by Spaniards in New Mex.*, Davis W. H. H., *El Gringo*; *ibid.*, *Span. Conquest of N. Mex.*; Twitchell, R. E., *Leading Facts of N. Mex. Hist.*; *ibid.*, *Span. Archives of N. Mex.*; Bancroft, H. H., *Works* especially *North Mex. States*, Vol. I pp. 27, 71-76, 82-87; *New Mex. and Arizona*; Shea, John Gilmary, *Cath. Ch. in Colonial Days*; *ibid.*, *Hist. of the Cath. Missions among the Indian Tribes*; *ibid.*, *American Martyrology* (unpublished work in MS. in *Cath. Archives of Amer. at Notre Dame Univ.*; Hale, E. E., *Coronado's Discovery of the Seven Cities in Amer. Anti. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 1877 and Oct. 1878; Haynes, Henry W., *What is the True Site of the Seven Cities of Cibola in the Proceedings of the same Society, 1878*; *ibid.*, *Early Explorations of N. Mex.*, cited above; Prince, L. Bradford, *Hist. Sketches of N. Mex.*

again set out with the Coronado expedition along with Fray Juan Padilla, Fray Juan de la Cruz and Fray Luis de Escalona, but his health was broken, and he returned in the fall of 1540 shortly after Coronado had reached Zuni in New Mexico. The trials and hardships of his first journey brought on paralysis, from which he never fully recovered. In spite of this infirmity he lived until the year 1558. According to the Chronicle of Xalisco he was revered by all as "most saintly," and his brethren esteemed him as "a very learned and religious man."

Coronado, when he reached Cibola, was greatly disappointed with what he saw. While there, some Indians came from Cicuye, seventy leagues east, and gave him descriptions of their own country. Here was found a pueblo with houses four stories high. The party was escorted into the town with great signs of joy amid the sounds of fife and drum.

Juan Jaramillo, one of the captains of the Coronado expedition, states in his *Relacion*, that he left at this place with Fray de Escalona, a slave boy named Cristobal, a Tarascan named Andres, and two negroes. These same later reported that this lay brother was killed by the older men of the place, who hated him because of his religious influence in that neighborhood.

Fray Juan Padilla, the youngest of the group of missionaries, has the distinction, however, of being the first martyr within the limits of what is now the United States. The record of Fray Juan Padilla, as a wanderer in the wilderness, is worthy of note. He travelled with Coronado to Cibola; he journeyed with Pedro de Tobar to Moqui; he then returned to Zuni; he joined Hernando de Alvarado on a thousand mile trip over vast deserts and he accompanied Coronado on his search for the mythical Quivira. Rueben Gold Thwaites thus speaks of this latter expedition:

"Disappointed, but still hoping to find the country of gold, Coronado's gallant little army, frequently thinned by death and desertion, for three years beat up and down the southwestern wilderness, now thirsting in the deserts, now penned up in gloomy cañons, now crawling over pathless mountains, suffering the horrors of starvation and of despair, but following this will o' the wisp with melancholy perseverance seldom seen in man save when searching for some mysterious treasure. 'Through mighty plains and sandy heaths,' says the chronicler of the expedition, 'smooth and wearisome and bare of wood, they travelled. All the way the plains are as full of crook-back oxen (buffaloes) as the mountain Serena in Spain is of sheep. They were a great succor for the hunger and want of bread which our people stood in. One day it rained in that plain a great shower of hail as big as oranges which caused many tears,

weakness and vows . . . Cooperating parties explored the upper valley of the Rio Grande and Gila, ascended the Colorado for two hundred and forty miles above its mouth and visited the Grand Cañon of the same river. Coronado at last returned, satisfied that he had been victimized by the idle tales of travelers. He was rewarded with contumely, and lost his place as governor of New Galicia, but the romantic march stands in history as one of the most remarkable expeditions of modern times."

Father Juan Padilla returned with Coronado from the land of the Quivirans. Unlike the other members, who were mounted, the humble padre trudged along on foot all the way back to Bernalillo. Here the missionaries resolved to devote their lives for the conversion of the Indian tribes to Christianity. Fray Juan de la Cruz had already entered upon his labors among the Pueblos. When Coronado returned to the South the padres remained in New Mexico and all merited crowns of martyrdom. Fray Padilla chose to labor among the Quiviran Indians. With him remained Andres Docampo, a soldier, Lucas and Sebastian, called Donados, and a few Mexican Indian boys. This little band plodded its way on foot back over the vast plains. At last after much wearisome travel they reached the village where Coronado had planted a large cross and here Fray Juan Padilla established his mission. His influence with the savages soon prepared their minds and hearts for the Word of God and these roving children of the prairies loved him as a father. The burning zeal of Fray Juan Padilla led him to attempt the conversion of other neighboring hostile tribes. The Quivirans had become so attached to the kind padre that they were loath to lose his religious ministrations. They also resented the action of the missionary because their bitter enemies were about to derive the benefit. But Fray Padilla was determined to go. After about one day's journey, the padre and his companions met a band of Indians on the warpath. He wished to secure the safety of everyone but himself. He had yearned for this day, which was to obtain for him a martyr's crown.

The approach of the galloping, dusty horde left but little time for action. Docampo, the soldier, still possessed his horse. The two Donados and the Mexican Indians were fleet runners.

"Flee my children," cried Fray Padilla, "Save yourselves, for me ye cannot help and why should all die together. Run!"

There was a moment of indecision. But as the padre pleaded with them again, they seemed to read the thoughts of his

heart and made good their escape. A scene was about to be enacted, where one of God's heroes was to make the supreme sacrifice of his life. Here amid these lonely surroundings was shed the blood of the proto-martyr of the United States.

Fray Padilla dropped on his knees and offered his soul to God and as he prayed the Indians pierced him from head to foot with many arrows. This new triumph of Christianity was carried back to the world by his fleeing companions. They too had many tribulations and hardships. For ten months they were compelled to live as slaves, beaten and starved almost to death. Finally, after many unsuccessful attempts they escaped from the cruel servitude of these barbarians. Amid the most terrible privations and dangers they wandered footsore and forlorn for eight long years. They zigzagged across the burning hot sands of the desert for thousands and thousands of miles, and finally found their way to Tampico, where they had been given up as lost or killed by savages. They returned, weary and broken, but they had accomplished their purpose. They brought back to civilization the glorious story of the martyrdom of Padre Juan Padilla, the proto-martyr of the United States.

Language can hardly overstate the pain, the anguish, and even despair, that must have tried the bodies and souls of these early explorers. "Cabeza de Vaca," says Lummis, "was the first to penetrate the then 'Dark Continent' of North America, as he was, by centuries, the first to cross the continent. His nine years of wandering on foot, unarmed, naked, starving among wild beasts and wilder men, with no other attendants than three as ill-fated comrades, gave the world the first glimpse of the United States inland, and led to some of the most stirring and important achievements connected with its early history. Nearly a century before the Pilgrim Fathers planted their noble commonwealth on the edge of Massachusetts, seventy-five years before the first English Settlement was made in the New World, and more than a generation before there was a single Caucasian settler of *any* blood within the area of the present United States, Vaca and his giant followers had trudged across this unknown land."

Again, speaking of Fray Marcos de Niza, John Gilmary Shea says: "He stands in history as the earliest of the priestly explorers, who unarmed and on foot penetrated into the heart of the country; . . . a barefooted friar effecting more, as

Viceroy Mendoza wrote, than well armed parties of Spaniards had been able to accomplish, and who more than three centuries and a half ago (now four) initiated a mission of the Franciscan Order which was for years to spread Christian light over the interior of the continent, long before the advance guard of Protestantism appeared in either Virginia or Massachusetts. Fray Marcos opened the way, but the mission was not effectively begun till many zealous Franciscans had laid down their lives in the attempt to win the natives to listen to the Christian doctrine of which he was the herald."

Of the expedition of Coronado, General Simpson states "For extent in distance travelled, duration of time and multiplicity of its co-operating expeditions, it equalled if it did not exceed any land expedition in modern times." The Southwest, where all this took place, contains hundreds of thousands of square miles. That country was then a vast wilderness, the cruelest wilderness conceivable. These early pioneers really took their lives in their hands. Thirst, starvation, savagery in a roadless desert! Even today, in certain parts of this great territory, the traveller looks off into endless space and sees but sandy wastelands and barren mountain peaks. Even today, to venture out on the lonely areas of New Mexico and Arizona is perilous and forbidding. But what was the situation four centuries ago for the explorer? "A journey from somewhere through the unknown to nowhere; whose starting, course, and end are all untrodden and unguessed wilds," with hardships, dangers of attacks from savage Indians and endurance added for full measure. Fortitude, bravery, heroism were necessary in that Dark Land of Mystery.

PAUL J. FOIK

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PORT WASHINGTON DRAFT RIOT OF 1862

There can be no debate about the fact that the Civil War preserved the physical union of the United States though evidence might be submitted that a spiritual union is still in the making. This result and development very faintly hint at the difficulties which tormented North and South at the time. As late as 1864 "there were many men who believed that the war was a mistake and that Lincoln was a failure."¹ No wonder then that accidents arose concerning details. People might have pronounced pro-war convictions and still have shown determined resistance to ways and means for the conduct of the war. This may very well have been characteristic of the folk of Port Washington, Wisconsin, who took it upon themselves to resist the draft in November, 1862.

The bare facts of the riot may be itemized as follows. Due to various alleged reasons, as listed hereafter, a pent-up public sentiment burst out in mob violence at Port Washington on November 10, 1862. Some citizens, among them William A. Pors, draft commissioner, felt its fury in their property and persons and the militia rolls were seized and destroyed. Eight companies of the Twenty-eighth Regiment, stationed at Milwaukee, were dispatched to Port Washington on November 11 and succeeded by clever strategy in surrounding the scene of disturbance. Governor Salomon then issued a proclamation to the people, informing them of the law and its penalties, of the governmental right to order a draft, and of the congressional authorization to the President for the draft order. The people were advised to discontinue resistance and to submit to the lawful authorities. The provost court investigated the case of persons under arrest, and upon evidence committed eighty-one to Camp Washburn, Milwaukee. Later arrests increased the number of prisoners to about one hundred and thirty. All were finally lodged in Camp Randall, Madison, and subsequently put in charge of General Pope, who retained them for some months and then released them informally to the Government. The claims for damages of those who suffered were presented to the Wisconsin Legislature, were allowed, and charged to the Government. (See Quiner, pp. 145-147, *infra.*, note 19.)

¹ Frederic L. Paxton, *The New Nation* (New York, 1915), p. 3.

While the facts in the miniature rebellion are not so interesting as to call for a new detailed narration, the historic realities connected therewith may merit renewed inquiry with reference to the reasons generally alleged to account for the event, and room may be found for the introduction of a new one. This latter finds its basis in the lack of provision for Catholic army chaplains, a condition which had a depressing reaction in the minds of Catholics and with other circumstances evoked hostile action against one governmental effort. Aiming at more light rather than more heat, this treatment harbors no objective that is in any way connected with justification of the riot.

Any consideration of the events in question should dwell upon the political and economic background of the people, who were for the most part German. Time alone could wean most of them from the Austrian political ideal and program of confederation rather than union, a politics that was only partly disabled at Sadowa. The militaristic nightmare of Napoleon, Metternich and Bismarck was to have no counterpart in America to those who survived it and who were determined to cross the ocean in order that their children might escape it. Moreover, the land about Port Washington reluctantly yielded to steady labor and from an economic standpoint could not be left behind without serious harm to families which otherwise might have readily given up their sons and fathers.²

The situation probably would have been very different if it had involved a war to repel a foreign invader. The issue of union as against confederation was by no means clear to the people antecedently and was at the time actually topsy-turvy as a result of political oratory and propaganda. The Germans were Democrats and depended upon limited and unreliable sources of information. Union Democrats met with no sympathy in the party which was run by Copperheads, and these latter had bed-fellows aplenty in the numbers of conservative Republicans who were willing to maintain any position regarding slavery as long as they could hold office. Henry Adams refused to entertain ethics when his hero, Charles Sumner, great anti-slavery orator, traded his way into office through a deal with Democrats and Free Soilers.³

² Joseph Schafer, *Four Wisconsin Counties* (Madison, 1927), pp. 159-160.

³ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1927), pp. 49-51.

The German papers were as a rule Democratic and cannot be held as more than secondary accomplices in the matter. The primary sources of disturbance were the Democratic journals, which poured out inflammatory speeches and articles against the government, conscription and war.⁴ The Republican party, represented by such men as Lincoln, is commonly pictured as not very emphatic in its opposition to slavery and as adopting very slowly this policy only as a war measure.⁵ Lincoln's action regarding Fremont's abolition proclamation illustrates the politics followed in the matter. The President was trying to hold Kentucky to the Union and thought a rigid abolition policy would spoil his plans.⁶ Even pro-slavery Democrats were not adverse to straddling as may be seen in their deal with the anti-slavery Free Soilers in 1848. Politics therefore did not serve to answer the query at the time, which is right, the North or the South?

The Republican party of the time was favorable to the Catholics, but its antecedents made it hard for it to live these down. The Republican party was marked pretty evidently with the stripes of Nativism, Abolitionism and Knownothingism. Even humble Catholics knew enough recent history to be at least shy when approached by an organization connected with the foregoing anti-Catholic movements. Nativism represented one brutal act, the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charleston, Massachusetts, in 1832. The fact that the Philadelphia riots of 1844 confirmed the brutality was not calculated to diminish Catholic shyness. Abolition was considered as one attempt of the British aristocracy to split a growing democracy, and abolition in the United Kingdom was considered as a blow, as it was, to the equally menacing middle class in England. Slavery under such conditions became a purely political question.⁷ Catholics had no reason to sympathize with the northern Abolitionists, whose other and older name was Puritans, an ominous name in America at least from some angles. "Slavery," wrote Henry Adams, "drove the whole Puritan community back on its Puritanism. . . . The slave power took the place of . . . Ro-

⁴ Brownson's *Quarterly*, IV, Third New York Series (October, 1863), pp. 385ff.

⁵ Brownson, *op. cit.*, II, Third New York Series (July, 1861), pp. 378ff.

⁶ Brownson, *op. cit.*, IV, Third New York Series (January, 1863), pp. 88ff.; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States, 1860-1862*, (New York, 1895), III, pp. 471-472.

⁷ Brownson, *op. cit.*, II, Third New York Series (October, 1861), pp. 510ff.

man popes."⁸ On the other hand James Ford Rhodes, commenting on an excerpt of Lincoln's second Inaugural, felt justified in entertaining the supposition that if the Puritan had settled in the South and Cavalier in the North, "it is possible the former would have fought for slavery."⁹ Men of the North generally regarded slavery as an evil, but a greater evil loomed up with emancipation for this must logically lead to the granting of civil rights, and this to the possibility of the whites being outvoted, a situation hardly satisfactory.¹⁰ The South has in some instances effectively nullified the civil rights which did follow in the course of time.

The abolition movement discouraged adherence because it showed no well directed effort. In 1833 fifty or sixty persons, mostly young men, organized the American Anti-slavery Society in Philadelphia. All the South and nearly all of the North regarded the meeting "in much the same as we should now look upon an assembly of anarchists."¹¹ The Republican party owed its success to a union with Knownothings, who were not likely to aid in making good Republicans out of traditional Catholic Democrats. The Democratic party in its long tenure of office had been generally more liberal to foreigners than Republicans, and less illiberal to Catholics.¹² Added to the foregoing was the early alliance between the German Forty-eighters and the Republicans, whose common love for slaves was held under grave suspicion by German Catholics, who had been hated long enough and even recently by both. The literature of the Forty-eighters in the decade before the war offers a rare example of extreme antagonism to Catholic Germans.¹³

Catholic newspapers as a rule were solid in their reprobation of slavery from a moral standpoint, but repudiated abolition and war as a means to remedy it and were content to tolerate the situation until some better day would right it. This attitude may

⁸ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁹ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381.

¹⁰ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 365-366.

¹¹ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 381, 59-60.

¹² Brownson, *op. cit.*, IV, Third New York Series (October, 1863), pp. 385ff.

¹³ *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung* (Wien, 1830), XXVII (1855), p. 84.

See the anti-Catholic German papers of Milwaukee, the *Flugblaetter* (1852-1854), the *Folkfreund* and the *Banner*.

be said to have characterized the Catholic clergy too.¹⁴ When Pope Gregory XVI formally condemned the slave trade in 1840, abolitionists were quick to interpret the condemnation as favorable to their cause; but Bishop England gave an interpretation to the Pope's *Encyclical* which was acceptable to the American Hierarchy and Rome. He maintained in brief that the Pope merely condemned the slave trade but did not include the domestic slave system as then existent in the United States.¹⁵

So it can easily be seen that the antecedents of the German Catholics respecting politics in the fatherland, their attitude towards compulsory military service and their economic advancement in their new home, were forcibly seconded by political history, partisan press and clerical leadership in the United States.

Some local conditions were highly charged with provocation to resistance to the governmental draft order. It seems hard to reconcile with justice the largest proportional draft quota of any county in the state with the backwardness of local farming. The probable lack of tact on the part of Governor Salomon in the appointment of a draft commissioner and examining surgeon other than those formally selected by a representative meeting and formally presented to him for appointment, had an unfavorable effect on the people. His appointees apparently made egregious blunders with respect to administering the draft without which the riot would not have taken place. Dissatisfaction arose over the manner in which the medical examinations were conducted, which were alleged as partial in the matter of exemption to those in position and wealth. This feeling grew until the lists were completed and the day for drafting arrived and then public sentiment created a mob.¹⁶

¹⁴ Brownson, *op. cit.*, IV, Third New York Series (July, 1863), pp. 367ff. See *Der Milwaukee Seebote* (1852-), family paper for many Catholics, for views current on abolition, the government, slavery, how it met the charge of secession made against it, and particularly for its dependance on the English (language) press, in its issues between January 22, 1862 and February 19, 1862. There is a representative view of the Catholic attitude towards the war in *The Month*, edited at the University of St. Mary of the Lake, Chicago, II (July, 1865), pp. 1-14.

¹⁵ *The Month*, II (August, 1865), pp. 97-118 for article, "Bishop England on Domestic Slavery;" *Letters of Bishop England to Honorable John Forsyth on the Subject of Domestic Slavery* (Baltimore, 1844); *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXV (1924), pp. 325-344.

¹⁶ Schafer, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163; *History of Washington and Ozaukee Counties* (Chicago, 1881), pp. 493-495; *Wisconsin in Three Centuries*, 4 vols. (New York, n.d.), III, pp. 225-228.

The stage is now set to introduce a new factor into the drama. The glory of the United States was civic rather than militaristic, and as a result of this and other circumstances, the Federal army was made up of state units, which were never federalized in the strict sense, bringing in consequence a decentralized control, which is so harmful in many ways to a military organization. One great drawback was the lack of Federal control in the appointment of officers and chaplains, a prerogative which the state militia jealously guarded. Some critics look very unfavorably upon a volunteer system for maintaining a great force because it does not put the duty of service squarely up to every citizen; it is worked by bonuses which often make the service mercenary and it somehow or other is inextricably connected with an elective method, which indeed on the surface is democratic, but becomes in the long run so selective as to be exclusive.¹⁷

The organization of an early Wisconsin military unit, the Milwaukee Light Guard, helps to reveal how chaplains were generally given military office. While the constitution of the foregoing group visualized a company only, extension thereof was implicitly provided for. Provision was made for officers by election in Article V. When steps were taken on April 4, 1857 to organize a battalion, the Reverend P. T. Imgraham was elected chaplain.¹⁸ Being a volunteer organization in peace time, it controlled the officers' personnel, and when called into service by the state or nation to meet an emergency, its officers by election, which was equivalent to nomination, were recognized as such by State or Federal appointment.

What happened in the several states may be seen from a typical action in Wisconsin. Governor Randall issued a proclamation on April 22, 1861, in which he urged the formation of volunteer companies in every locality and added, "When such companies are full, if infantrymen, let them elect a captain, lieutenant and ensign, and report to the Adjutant General for commissions . . ." Company officers were required to muster their men into the State service prior to mustering them into the Federal service. There was an exception in one respect and this regarded the raising of cavalry outfits in Wisconsin. These were authorized to be raised by the Federal government independently of the

¹⁷ Brownson, *op. cit.*, IV, Third New York Series (January, 1863), pp. 55ff.

¹⁸ Herbert C. Damon, *Histroy of the Milwaukee Light Guard* (Milwaukee, 1875), pp. 26, 64.

State, though indeed commissions were issued by the State.¹⁹ There is good reason to believe that the confusion about the status of chaplains which persisted nearly throughout the war, had something to do with the lack of foresight in providing them. There is no record of the provision of a chaplain for the First Wisconsin Regiment, which went at the President's call for three months volunteers. This may be explained by the following excerpt of a letter written on July 20, 1861, by Governor O. P. Morton of Indiana to the chief clerk of the War Department, "Paymasters refuse to pay chaplains for the returned three months regiments. . . . I think they should be paid."²⁰

An order emanating from the War Department in 1864, based on an Act of Congress April 9, 1864, amended an Act of Congress of July 17, 1862, so as to include chaplains in the regular and volunteer forces of the army. Section 1 of the new act of congress recognized the rank of chaplain *without command* in the regular and volunteer service. The wording "without command" was deemed indefinite. Prior to April 9, 1864, chaplains were in the anomalous position of being neither commissioned officers nor enlisted men. Probably the Act of April 9, 1864, intended to rescue them from this position by placing them on the records as members of the non-combatant commissioned staff, but the Act left the impression that chaplains were given a new rank as between a major and captain. The Secretary of War in his report to the President, March 1, 1865, wrote that the former assimilated rank of chaplains, in reference to allowance of quarters and pay, was "captain," and such should now be their rank.²¹

The lack of federal control, the volunteer system, the elective method in vogue in the states, with appointments in the hands of governors, and the undetermined status of chaplains, all contributed to the alarming insufficiency of Catholic army chaplains in the Union army.

About one year after the war began, the War Department reported a total of 472 chaplains, of whom twenty-two were Catho-

¹⁹ E. B. Quiner, *The Military History of Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1866), pp. 57, 59, 79.

²⁰ *War of Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series III, vol. I, p. 368; *ibid.*, p. 375. Paymasters were directed to pay to chaplains of the volunteers the same pay as to regular chaplains.

²¹ *Official Records*, Series III, vol. IV, pp. 227-228; 809; 1206-1207.

lic. This disproportionate figure is made more so when one reflects that one-fifth (100,000) of the army was Catholic.²²

Naturally such a situation caused a profound anxiety among Catholics, who looked to the President for a solution of it. The War Department could do nothing without the authorization of Congress, which in turn would do nothing to take the matter out of the control of the States. The House of Representatives refused to pass a bill introduced on June 12, 1861, to muster out regimental chaplains, and to give the President the right of appointing chaplains to brigades. He was given power to appoint chaplains to permanent hospitals.²³ This concession probably referred to regular army hospitals because in his first Annual Message, December 3, 1861, President Lincoln said, "by mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for hospitals occupied by volunteers." He stated that he had taken the initiative in the affair and recommended that such chaplains "be compensated at the same rate as chaplains in the army." He added, "I further suggest that general provision be made for chaplains to serve at hospitals as well as with the regiments."²⁴

In view of the President's suggestion that "general provision be made for chaplains" in December, it is probable that prior enactments were insufficient. A general order No. 15, May 4, 1861, contained a plan of organization for volunteer forces in which it is ordered that each regiment shall have one chaplain, "who will be appointed by the regimental commander on the vote of the field officers and company commanders on duty with the regiment at the time the appointment was made. The chaplain so appointed must be a regularly ordained minister of some Christian denomination, and will receive the pay and allowance of a captain of cavalry." The same regulation was applied to the regular regiments.²⁵ General order No. 54, August 10, 1861, indicates an effort to place power of appointment of chaplains to regular regiments in the President's hands, for in section 6, it is declared, "That one chaplain shall be allowed to each regiment of the army, to be selected and appointed as the President may

²² *Der Wahrheitsfreund* (Cincinnati, 1837-1907), issues of April 30, 1862 and August 6, 1862. Hereafter referred to as *WHF*.

²³ *WHF* (August 6, 1862).

²⁴ *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1797-1897* (Washington, 1900), VI, p. 48; *Official Records*, Series III, vol. I, pp. 709, 721. The President of the Confederate States was given the power to appoint chaplains on May 3, 1861, and this power was increased according to needs throughout the war. See *Official Records*, Series IV, vol. I, pp. 275, 766, 595, 1076, 247, 252; *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 496.

²⁵ *Official Records*, Series III, vol. I, pp. 151-154, 157.

direct." Furthermore it provided that only Christians were eligible.²⁶

The President was alive to the importance of having Catholic chaplains. In September, 1861, he pointed this out by suggesting that a priest be appointed to serve with every division, in which he was seconded by General McClellan. The editor of the *Wahrheitsfreund* urged Catholics to ask Congress to follow the idea of the President. He stated that Catholics would be satisfied with an arrangement which would provide a Catholic chaplain for each division.²⁷ The Federal government tried to remedy the matter but was effectively blocked by the existing state practice. In the course of events it was natural for some states to try to meet the need for Catholic chaplains. Minnesota had many Catholic soldiers in its regiments and commissioned the Reverend John Ireland to serve as a special chaplain for all its regiments. The Governor of Connecticut ordered that two chaplains be commissioned for every brigade. The order was approved by the Connecticut Legislature.²⁸

The reports coming from many camps respecting the lack of Catholic chaplains caused Catholic leaders and priests to volunteer their services on a civilian basis. It will be observed in the course of this paper that Wisconsin tried to meet the situation in this way. Wisconsin was ill equipped with Catholic chaplains and as a result there was a natural reaction of regret, resentment and complaint among Catholics.

Wisconsin organized fifty-three infantry regiments, four cavalry regiments, all of which were provided with chaplains, except the Fifty-First, Second and Third Infantries; and fourteen Batteries, none of which had an assigned chaplain.²⁹ Some 90,000 soldiers from Wisconsin served the Union cause. Out of eighty commissioned chaplains, two were Catholic, the Reverend Napoleon Mignault (17th Inf.) of Duck Creek, and Francis Fusseder (24th and 17th Inf.) of Port Washington. It is interesting to note the fine service of these men. Chaplain Mignault was commissioned on December 11, 1861, mustered into the service of the United States on March 19, 1862 and resigned on account of disability on February 9, 1864. Chaplain Fusseder was commissioned on September 3, 1862, mustered in on the 22nd of September, 1862, and mustered out July 28, 1863. He was re-

²⁶ *Official Records*, Series III, vol. I, pp. 395-396, 398.

²⁷ *WHF* (August 6, 1862). A division comprised 10,000-15,000 men.

²⁸ *WHF* (July 30, 1862; May 23, 1861; August 1, 1861).

²⁹ Wm. DeLoss Love, *Wisconsin in the War of Rebellion* (Chicago, 1866), *passim*.

commissioned July 14, 1864, mustered in on the same date, and mustered out with the Seventeenth Infantry July 14, 1865.³⁰

On October 29, 1861, Louis P. Harvey, Secretary of State for Wisconsin, called on Bishop Henni to secure the services of the Reverend George T. Riordan of Kenosha as chaplain of the Seventeenth Infantry. The Secretary informed the Bishop that this was the expressed desire of its Colonel and men. The Bishop assured Mr. Harvey that he would grant Father Riordan the necessary permission. It is not known why Father Riordan was not commissioned. There is reason to think that the preliminaries involving him as chaplain of the Irish Regiment (17th) helped to fill up its ranks, because later on the presence of Chaplain Mignault on its roster aided enlistments though of course the Irish enlisted in other regiments also.³¹

The lack of Catholic chaplains produced a state of mind generally which is strikingly laid bare in the following excerpt of a letter written by a German Catholic soldier of Wisconsin to the Milwaukee *Seebote*: "I wish to call your attention to one thing, which is: Where is the German chaplain who was appointed last fall? After his appointment became known to Catholic soldiers, recruiting was noticeably better, and [now] we Catholics are very abandoned. No regard is taken of the practice of our religion except in the Seventeenth regiment. We should have been told of this situation beforehand so as to have known what we were going into. I know of many who were induced to join the army because a priest was appointed for us. If these lines should reach the proper authority, it would be no more than right to tell us why we no longer have him with us ever since we left Milwaukee. . . ." ³²

A good deal of light is thrown on the foregoing and on the general topic of this paper by a communication to the *Seebote* from the Reverend Francis Fusseder, who was implicated. He wrote, "First of all I wish to state that I did not offer my services. Two recruiting officers approached me last fall with the question, why so few Catholics enlisted. I answered simply that a Catholic wants the consolations of his religion in the hour of danger and death, but particularly in war, though ordinarily he may not be a practical Catholic. According to my judgment this accounts for the German Catholic reluctance to enlist."

³⁰ Love, *op. cit.*; *Records of the AGO (Wisconsin)*; *WHF* (October 8, 1862).

³¹ *WHF* (November 14, 1861; August 6, 1862).

³² *WHF* (August 6, 1862).

Father Fusseder implied that a Catholic did not have a chance to enjoy the comforts of his church when he wanted them most,—in war. He continued in his letter: "I received a commission privately after two or three weeks as 'visiting chaplain for the Catholic soldiers of Wisconsin volunteers in active service,' with a notification to be ready in a few weeks. I arranged my affairs for the service and made weekly visits to the camps near Milwaukee. The Bishop indeed preferred to have another priest go, but finally I received his permission, and at New Year's time [1862] I went to see Governor Harvey in Madison, but only received fine words. At last I wrote to Governor Salomon about what I was to do concerning my commission, and consider the answer, 'There exists no law for such an appointment and the affair amounts to a kind of compliment or commendation. If I desired to visit the regiments at my own expense, verily a commission would be necessary, in the form of a permission granted by the respective military authorities.'"²²

Father Fusseder was the pastor at Port Washington and it is possible that what he wrote was known to his flock. Although he received a commission on September, 3, 1862, a year had flown by and in the interval much local dissatisfaction could have been aroused over the distressing question of the lack of Catholic army chaplains. Supposing however that his case were not known generally, the situation was an open one in the press, and there can be no doubt about the anxiety in the minds and hearts of those who had fathers, sons, or sweethearts to offer to the cause of the Union, and just as little doubt about the perplexity in the soul of every Catholic man who enlisted or was to be drafted.

In the course of this paper the various alleged reasons for the draft riot have been outlined. Many will believe that the lack of provision for army chaplains outweighs any other, perhaps all, because it is concerned with the imponderable, intangible and spiritual forces and elements in a man. There are some who think that it was an element of anti-Catholicism which brought about a dearth of Catholic chaplains. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt about the part played by the existent army organization with its emphasis on election for nomination, and on appointment by the respective states.

St. Francis, Wis.

PETER LEO JOHNSON

²² WHF, *loc. cit.*

IRISH IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA, 1865-1890

(Continued)

V

THE SWEETMAN COLONY OF CURRIE, MURRAY COUNTY, MINNESOTA,
AND THE WORK OF THE IRISH AMERICAN COLONIZATION
COMPANY IN THIS COLONY

That the Irish Catholic Colonization Association and the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota have done much towards the spiritual and economic advance of this State during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, is a subject of general information to the student of immigration. But that there were colonization companies organized in Ireland for the purpose of assisting the native Irish to come to America, is not so well known.

Murray County, in the southwestern part of this State, owes a great debt of gratitude to a cultured Irish gentleman of vast wealth, Mr. John Sweetman, of County Meath, Ireland. It was this statesman and philanthropist who wrote in 1871, "The tenant farmers are strong enough to help themselves if they only knew it. Individually they are certainly at the mercy of their landlords, but collectively they are quite a match for them."¹

Later, in 1877, when he was taking an active part in trying to organize a Farmers' Union, he wrote, "The land will never be properly cultivated until farmers have security of tenure² and people will never be contented until they have some stake in the country."³

It was this man, also, who at the time of its origin was an active promoter of the newly organized Land League of Dublin in 1879. The objects of this league were to facilitate ownership of the soil by tenants, and to bring about a reduction of "rack-rents."⁴

In December, 1879, there was much poverty and distress in County Meath. "The gradual drop in the value of cattle, after

¹ Sweetman, *The Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dieta*, July 1911, 41.

² This ambition was realized, as has been shown, in the Land Act of 1881.

³ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

the inflated prices during the early seventies, compelled the graziers and farmers to lessen their expenses, and they did this by not employing labor."⁵ Many of the inhabitants were near starvation, for the daily wage, if work could be found at all, was a shilling a day. It was in view of such circumstance that Mr. Sweetman turned his attention to America, where a good Irish worker could secure six shillings a day.⁶

Since his mother had only recently died, this wealthy Irish bachelor, accompanied by a friend, left Dublin for America on April 8, 1880. From his diary account of this trip, there is an interesting narrative, not only of his voyage across the ocean and inland to St. Paul by way of Halifax, Toronto, Detroit, and Chicago, but also of his search for colonization lands in our western States and in Canada. "We arrived here (St. Paul) Friday, April 23rd, . . ." writes Mr. Sweetman, "just a fortnight since leaving Londonderry, having only delayed for twenty hours at Toronto."

"That evening I called on the Catholic Colonization Bureau and presented a letter of introduction from the Archbishop of Dublin to Dr. Ireland, the Coadjutor Bishop of St. Paul, and the head of the Catholic Colonization Bureau. He received me most cordially and listened most attentively as I was explaining the object of my visit, which was to find out what prospects Irish immigrants would have in Western States. He explained to me how anxious he had been to induce the Irish who were congregated in the large cities of America to take farms in the West where they would get the best of land for next to nothing. . . . He told me that their Bureau at St. Paul could find work for laborers with farmers at four pounds the month and their board, and that they could get farms of 160 acres and have plenty to start well on, if they had 200 pounds to begin with.⁷ He advised me to go and see the Catholic colonies⁸ myself, and

⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 43-46.

⁸ This necessary capital outlay undoubtedly restricted immigration, but brought to Minnesota a superior type of settler.

⁹ See footnote 10 for the names of these colonies.

instructed Mr. Dillon O'Brien, the Secretary, to give me letters of introduction to the resident priests of the several colonies."¹⁰

Mr. Sweetman remained in St. Paul for a few days in order to be in immediate contact with Dr. Ireland and his business secretary. The Bishop was surprised to hear that very little was known of his Minnesota Bureau in the old country,¹¹ for in a letter to the President of the Board of Colonization of the Irish Benevolent Union on September 6, 1876, he had pictured the prosperity which had come to Irish settlers who had arrived in Minnesota twenty years before. In this same letter he appealed for the formation of national bureaus in Ireland, and for the formation of joint stock companies for the purpose of assisting Irish immigrants to America.¹²

To Dr. Ireland the organization and operation of joint stock companies and colonizing bureaus was very simple. The Bureau would have a large tract of land reserved by a railroad company for those recommended by it. The land would be sold to the colonists by the Bureau, either on a commission basis at a set rate of \$4 an acre, or at a price a little above the amount demanded by the railroad company. Since this system had been carried out in the five colonies already promoted by the Minnesota Bureau, Mr. Sweetman encouraged the Bishop to establish a branch office in Ireland in order to disseminate information concerning the great agricultural opportunities in Minnesota.¹³

"Mr. O'Brien took up very warmly my idea that something more should be done for the poor emigrants who have not the two hundred pounds to enable them to start farms for themselves,"¹⁴ says Mr. Sweetman. But Bishop Ireland had recognized this fact some years previous, when in his correspondence concerning colonization, he made it plain that his plan did not reach the poor. Many Irish settlers had the necessary money

¹⁰ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 46-47; Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, in *The Minnesota Historical Collections*, XVII, 340, 364, 376.

There were five colonies promoted by the Minnesota Colonization Bureau by 1880: DeGraff and Contarf in Swift County; Adrian in Nobles County; Avoca in Murray County; and Minnesota in Lyon County. Schaefer, *A History of the Diocese of St. Paul*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1915, 67.

¹¹ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 47.

¹² *Colonization and Future Emigration*, in *The Catholic World*, XXV, April 1877-Sept. 1877, 685-688.

¹³ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 47. This has been pointed out in Chapter II. Sweetman makes no mention of the sale of land by the Minnesota Bureau at a price above that demanded by the railroad company.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

to bring them West, but few of them could buy land, or even support themselves until the harvesting of the first crop.¹⁵ But before any definite plans for improved conditions for future Irish immigrants were formulated, Mr. Sweetman desired to investigate the land and the general environment in some of the colonies already established. On Monday, April 27, (1880), therefore, Sweetman and his traveling associate left St. Paul for the Avoca Colony in Murray County, where the Minnesota Bureau had about 60,000 acres of land. They found Avoca to be a thriving little Irish village which had been in existence for a year or two.¹⁶ The store-keepers were very "civil and obliging," and the young Austrian priest in charge of the colony, Rev. Charles Koeberl, gave them all the assistance he possibly could. They inspected the lands, buildings, and general conditions in the Avoca Colony until Wednesday, when they took a train for Heron Lake, twenty miles from this colony and about one hundred and fifty miles from St. Paul. They did not stop at Heron Lake, however, but went on to Worthington to spend the night. The next morning they met Hugh O'Callaghan of Dublin, and his brother-in-law, one Mr. Murphy, who were inspecting the colonies like themselves. After breakfast Thursday morning, the party of four went by train to the Adrian Colony in Nobles County. "My impression on arriving at Adrian," says Sweetman, "was that the land was not nearly so good as at Avoca, lighter and sandier, . . . However, afterwards we found that the worst land was just near the station. We called on the priest (Rev. C. J. Knauf), another nice German gentleman. We . . . joined in hiring a vehicle, and drove some six miles off through the colonies which made us change our first estimate of the quality of the soil, as it was certainly very fine."¹⁷

After making a thorough investigation of the Adrian Colony, Mr. Sweetman and his companion²¹ went back to Worthington, and from there to Minnesota, another Catholic colony. There they were so well pleased with the district that they asked the priest, Father M. J. Hanley, to reserve 640 acres of land until

¹⁵ *Colonization and Future Emigration*, in *The Catholic World*, XXV, 688; J. P. Maguire, *The Irish in America*, 214-215.

¹⁶ Drr. Upham, in *Minnesota Geographic Names*, Vol. 17 of *The Minnesota Historical Collections*, 364, says that Avoca was established in 1879 by Bishop Ireland, who promoted a Catholic colony in its vicinity in that year.

¹⁷ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 48-50.

²¹ O'Callaghan and Murphy went to Avoca, where Murphy bought 300 acres of land. *Ibid.*, 52.

the tour of inspection was finished. Sweetman's idea at the moment was to begin farming in Minnesota himself, but he soon decided that the cultivation of wheat under a hired manager would prove unprofitable. After a couple of days' inspection they returned to St. Paul to confer with the Bishop and Mr. O'Brien. Sweetman bought 160 acres of Minnesota land for a former steward of his, holding a mortgage on the land until the steward paid off the cost, plus some money which had been loaned to him.¹⁹

Mr. Sweetman did not remain long in St. Paul, for he wanted to investigate the possibilities of placing Irish immigrants in or around Winnipeg. He had a letter of introduction from Bishop Ireland to the Archbishop of the diocese in which Winnipeg was then located, but it was apparent that the Canadian churchman was not enthusiastic in recommending Manitoba as a place suitable for Irish immigrants. The Government Emigration Agent was next consulted, and he recommended Turtle Mountain, a place about one hundred miles from Emerson²⁰ as being a most favorable location for poor Irish settlers. Although every effort was made to make the trip to Turtle Mountain, obstacles were confronted on every side, so they left Manitoba in disgust.²¹

After leaving Canada Mr. Sweetman and his companion went to Glyndon, which is located near Moorhead, in Clay County, Minnesota; from there they visited Fargo and Bismark in Dakota Territory, as was related before. While visiting in Bismark, Sweetman discussed with the resident priest, Father Faffa, a plan whereby a land company might purchase a vast area of land and advance sufficient money to poor Irish colonists to enable them to start farming in the West, with the provision that the principal and interest on the company's investment be paid by small annual payments.²² When he got back to St. Paul, the prospective Irish colonizer discussed his plan in more detail with Bishop Ireland, who approved of it in general, but doubted if such a plan would ever be accepted by American financiers, who insisted on a very high rate of interest.²³

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

²⁰ Emerson is located in Manitoba, just south of Winnipeg, near the international border. Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 55n.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 55-58.

²² *Ibid.*, 57.

²³ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, p. 57.

After a final trip to the Dakota Territory, this time to Watertown and its unproductive vicinity, Mr. Sweetman and Dillon O'Brien, who accompanied him again, returned to St. Paul. Without any delay, the notable Irish land-seeker, in company again with O'Brien, departed for the Avoca Colony, from which place they went to Currie, a small village eight miles away. They were both decidedly impressed by the exceptional character of the land around the little village. In fact, Mr. Sweetman was so much impressed that he decided to buy some of the land before returning to Ireland. As a result of this decision, he agreed with the Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company to buy ten thousand acres of Currie land at an average price of one pound per acre.²⁴

After the immediate business connected with this transaction was concluded in St. Paul, Sweetman and his associate left for Ireland on June 7, arriving at Londonderry twenty days later. "Here ends my diary written thirty-one years ago," says the Irish philanthropist. "It shows my first impressions of America, which have not changed very much except as to the American climate, which, after twelve years experience at Currie, I hated, and wished for our 'damp and cloudy atmosphere' of Ireland."²⁵

Had Mr. Sweetman never returned to America to develop his newly acquired land, we should be indebted to him for the best written account, now extant, of the Irish colonies in the West. But, judging from the opinions of Minnesota men who were associated with him at his Currie Colony, he was not the type of man who would leave any project unfinished.²⁶ In consequence of this attribute of Mr. Sweetman's character, he began the organization of The Irish American Colonization Company, Limited, with its head office located at 12 S. Frederick Street, Dublin. The Board of Directors consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Butler, Right Hon. W. H. F. Cogan, Lieutenant Colonel Dease, R. H. Froude, Rt. Rev. John Ireland, George Ryan, Lattin Thunder, and John Sweetman. The officers in America were the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 57, 59.

²⁵ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, p. 59-61.

²⁶ The late J. P. O'Connor and Mr. Walter Sweetman, John's learned cousin, now living at 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul, have the highest words of praise for this great Irish leader.

Right Rev. John Ireland, St. Paul agent; John Sweetman, Managing Director; and J. P. O'Connor, Superintendent.²⁷

In writing about this company, which began to function in March, 1881, Sweetman says, "In the Provisional Prospectus I wrote: In the Western States of America vast tracts of magnificent tillage lands are still unoccupied, affording a most favorable opening for capital and labour combined. These lands will not, however, long remain unsettled, owing to the large immigration from the Eastern States of America, and from Germany, Norway, and Sweden. Great numbers of able bodied men are now emigrating from Ireland, who, for want of capital, cannot settle on these lands. This company has been formed for the purpose of supplying the want of capital. It will purchase lands in suitable localities, and place settlers on it, providing them with what they require for a fair start. A mortgage will be held on the land and on the implements, stock and effects on the farm, until the settler has paid, by such installments as may be agreed on, the purchase money, and sum advanced with a fair interest."²⁸

Due to the fact that most of the promoters were apparently men of influence in governmental or spiritual affairs, arrangement for the functioning of this new venture was soon made. During the autumn of 1880, Mr. Sweetman again came to Minnesota to make final arrangements for the sending of the first group of Irish settlers in the spring of 1881. After the essential preparations had been made, he returned to Ireland in order to accompany his colonists to Currie, in Murray County, early the next spring. Then, with the assistance of his able Superintendent, J. P. O'Connor, he worked from early morning until late at night for many months.²⁹

It should be interesting, at this point, to investigate the type of assisted emigrant which was included among the initial group of forty-one settlers.³⁰ "They were poor people largely from County Meath and Cavan,³¹ and many of them were not the most desirable members of their parishes," says Walter Sweetman,

²⁷ The names of the directors appear on the letterhead of the company. See T. D. O'Brien to W. J. Onahan, Feb. 28, 1882, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*. See also Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, 61.

²⁸ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 61.

²⁹ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 61-62.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 64. Mr. Walter Sweetman maintains that there must have been at least eighty immigrant families there by the end of 1881.

³¹ These counties are in the east-central part of Ireland.

who came here May 7, 1882, to help his cousin, John. "To be eligible for transportation to Currie, a candidate had to have three qualifications: he had to be a certain age (beyond 21), he had to be married, and he had to be recommended by his parish priest. But it was hard to check up on their ages. Few birth records were kept in those days, and many of those preserved were inaccurate. Besides, there were instances in which the parish priest would recommend the least desirable of his flock in order to get rid of a disturbing element."³²

The colonization company at first paid all of the transportation to Currie, and provided food and fuel for one year from the date of arrival. The settler was encouraged to acquire a piece of land immediately. It was offered for sale at the prices charged by the Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company (from which it was bought), but six per cent was charged,—the same as the rate charged by the railroad company, for land sold on time.³³

According to Mr. Walter Sweetman, the company bought land at \$3.60 and sold it at \$4 per acre. But the literature issued by the Irish company emphasized the fact that they would give the colonist a much longer time to pay the principal, and that they would not charge interest in advance as the railroad company did. Besides, the railroad company required the purchaser to pay at once, one-fifth of the amount of the purchase price, and one year's interest, on deferred payments. The colonizing company, on the contrary, required the immediate payment of but one-tenth of the amount of the purchase, and then nothing for eighteen months, when they charged the interest for that time on the unpaid balance. The following year they again charged only interest. Then for two years the settler was asked to pay one-twentieth of the principal each year, and interest on the balance. The following two years he was asked to pay one-tenth of the principal, and interest on the amount unpaid, and finally for three years, he should pay one-fifth of the principal and interest on the balance. In other words, the settler who bought land from the Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company was obliged to make a payment of \$96 each year for

³² This information was secured in a conference with Mr. Walter Sweetman, 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul.

³³ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 6, a pamphlet, issued by the Irish American Colonization Company, Currie, Minnesota. Published by the Pioneer Press Company. This pamphlet is available in the Chancery Office of the St. Paul Catholic Diocese, 244 Dayton Ave.

five years, plus interest. If he bought his land from the colonization company, \$48 was paid on the principal the first year, nothing for three years, then \$24 each year for two years, followed by \$48 each for two years, and ending with the payment of \$96 each year for three years, with interest charged as specified in the contract.³⁴

A house was also built for the immigrant, and such farm implements and other necessities as were absolutely essential, were provided at once. This house, according to Walter Sweetman, was really a 14 by 18 foot shanty, arranged in three rooms. Lumber and posts to support the roof of a barn, the walls of which had to be built of sod, were also provided. In addition, the company bought for the settler a breaking plow, a yoke of oxen, a harrow, a wagon; a cooking stove, and a few pieces of furniture were also given to the first settlers.³⁵ All together, the house, its equipment, and the farm implements cost the colonist \$250, of which one-tenth had to be paid at the time of purchase, and the remainder in small installments. Eight per cent interest was charged on deferred payments, but since all of the materials were bought at wholesale, the company advertised a saving of thirty per cent over the average retail price.³⁶

Under such favorable circumstances, with food and fuel provided for a year, and with a house, tools, and land for each settler, one would expect a fair amount of success, but such was not the case. Of the forty-one settlers who came to Currie in the spring of 1881, only sixteen were left by 1883. "Having arrived there," writes Mr. Sweetman, "they would not remain on the farms, but would go to the cities for the sake of escaping the debt."³⁷

The type of immigrant which came to the Currie Colony could not be kept on farms. They were essentially day laborers who were accustomed to their weekly pay, and to the traditional Saturday night's amusements. For those people, life on the plains was too monotonous. Besides, the necessity of waiting a whole year for returns from their crops was a vast hardship on most of them. As a result, the first attempt at Sweetman

³⁴ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, a pamphlet, 6-7.

³⁵ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 7. Confirmation of this information was secured from Mr. Walter Sweetman, who added many points not covered in their pamphlet.

³⁶ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 7.

³⁷ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, 62, 64.

colonization in south-western Minnesota was a most decided failure.³⁸

John Sweetman lost heavily in this enterprise during the first year and in the years following. When he returned to Ireland, after having witnessed the failure of his project, he bought up 90% of the stock of the company, because he did not want to see his fellow promoters lose in an undertaking of which he was the originator.³⁹

Since he was not the type of man who would recognize defeat easily, as has been said, he began practically anew in 1882. This time he was more careful in selecting his emigrants, and fewer concessions were allowed them. Nevertheless, in the early part of 1882 he was still willing to accept settlers who had no capital of their own, provided they could pay for their passage to Currie. As the year advanced, however, only industrious laborers who understood farming, and who had five hundred dollars of their own, were encouraged to migrate to Minnesota. The prospective Irish settler was informed, moreover, that he could secure a yoke of oxen for about \$115, and a cow for \$25, and that food, fuel, and sundries could be bought from the company at wholesale prices.⁴⁰

In the November 1882 pamphlet of the Irish Colonization Company, every effort was made to show the exceptional advantages which were offered to a man with a little capital in the Currie Colony.⁴¹ The village of Currie was represented as a thriving community having two hotels, a blacksmith shop, two general stores, a harness shop, a wagon factory, a butcher shop, two resident doctors, two lawyers, a priest, and a school master.⁴²

³⁸ This is the opinion of Walter Sweetman, 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 8.

⁴¹ The land, which was situated between three and ten miles from either the Winona and St. Peter Railroad, or the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, was said to be the finest in Minnesota. *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 8.

⁴² *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 8. The Federal census of 1870 gives a population of 185 for Murray County, but of that number only one was born in Ireland. The census of 1880 shows Murray County to have a population of 2397, of whom 162 were born in Ireland. In 1890 the total foreign-born population of the county was 2387, of whom 313 were born in Ireland. No return was made under the name of Currie in 1885 or 1890. See, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890*, Vol. I, Part II, Table 3, 642-643; *Compendium of the Ninth Census of the U. S., 1870*, 419-420; *Compendium of the Tenth Census of the U. S., 1880*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 513.

Approximately forty Irish families came to Currie during the year 1882 as a result of this advertising and Mr. Sweetman's process of selection; but again the project failed, as it had the year previous. In writing of his unfortunate experience with Irish colonization in Minnesota, the managing director says, "In 1883 I published a short pamphlet entitled 'Recent Experience in the Emigration of Irish Families,' showing how we failed in our original scheme. I wrote: 'A very little experience shows that it is a Utopian scheme to pay the passage of emigrants with the hopes of having the amount returned, unless some security can be obtained. . . . Further experience proved that it was impossible to succeed in our original scheme, but after some years we were able to sell our land to sons of farmers in the Eastern States,⁴³ who were anxious to obtain cheap lands, and when I was there in 1904 I found the district was a most prosperous Catholic Settlement."⁴⁴

In writing to Mr. Sweetman in 1908, Bishop Ireland commented on the old Currie Colony as follows: "I visited Murray County and went through it from one end to another in an automobile. What a change from the days of the oxen and slow horses! I was particularly delighted with Currie. . . . I met many of the old colonists—especially Mr. Mooney. All without exception are delighted that they remained in Murray County. All are prosperous and revere your name and memory."⁴⁵

"As a scheme for helping Irish emigrants to settle on land in America," wrote Sweetman in 1911, "my work of thirty years ago was a failure, but as establishing a Catholic colony on the prairies, it seems to have been a success."⁴⁶

⁴³ Walter Sweetman maintains that, although his cousin lost about £30,000 during the first five years of Currie's existence, he was able to make up much of this loss by selling his lands to Germans, Swedes, and to French inhabitants from Kankakee.

John Sweetman says that he remained most of the time on the prairies until 1892, hence it must have taken about a decade to recoup for the failure of the colonization attempts of 1881 and 1882. See *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, 64.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 62, 64.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

VI

THE GRACEVILLE COLONY OF BIGSTONE COUNTY.
THE "TUKE FUND" IMMIGRANTS.

"There was still another company of colonists sent out from Ireland through the instrumentality of my venerated friend, Father Nugent of Liverpool and located on land near the present Graceville," says W. J. Onahan, in discussing Catholic colonization in Minnesota. "This contingent gained at the time a somewhat unpleasant notoriety, and was known as the Connemaras."¹

Unfortunately, we have few definite records which show the true connection of Monsignor Nugent with this great movement of Irish immigrants to Minnesota. In the *Liverpool Daily Post* of July 22, 1896, there is mention of Father Nugent's first experience with Irish emigration. In 1870, seeing the opening there was for emigrants in America, he personally conducted a group of children to an emigrants' farm in Canada. Ten years later, following the terrible crop failure of 1880, upon the advice of a Liverpool Benevolent Committee, he visited the west of Ireland. Since he found that much of the distress was due to the complete failure of the staple crop, potatoes, he was instrumental in supplying many of the poor families with seed potatoes necessary for the replacement of their crops. Then, as an added measure of relief, in June of 1880 he sent out three hundred people from Galway County, in west-central Ireland, to Graceville, Bigstone County, Minnesota.²

It is not known if this group of Irish settlers was assisted in the measure as that sent out by Mr. Sweetman a year later. It is perhaps safe to conjecture, however, that transportation was paid for these poor colonists, perhaps through a fund publicly subscribed to for that purpose. After they had reached their destination, we know that they were placed on Bigstone County farms by Bishop Ireland and his assistants, Dillon O'Brien and J. P. O'Connor of the Catholic Colonization Bureau

¹ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1917, 72. The township and village of Graceville was founded by Catholic colonists in 1877 and 1878 in honor of Bishop Grace, who was Bishop of St. Paul, 1859-1884. Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, XVII, 54.

² A clipping from *The Liverpool Daily Post*, July 22, 1896. The article is entitled, "Monsignor Nugent's Jubilee." It is in the private collection of letters, newspaper reports, etc., concerning Father Nugent, and in the possession of his niece, Sister Francesca, St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul.

of Minnesota.³ In the Bureau's advertising pamphlets, one finds some interesting information concerning the Graceville Colony in general, and the status of the "Connemaras" in that settlement.

In 1878, Col. J. R. King, as the agent of Bishop Ireland's Catholic Colonization Bureau, visited the Toqua Lakes, and reported to Dr. Ireland the excellent condition of the lands in that portion of Bigstone County. The Bishop immediately purchased a soldier's claim of 80 acres for a town site, which he called Graceville. Almost immediately immigrants came rushing in in such large numbers that the Bureau was forced to erect a large immigrants' shed which was used for housing purposes. A general store, a butcher shop, a real estate office, a Catholic church, and many other buildings were soon erected.⁴

The lands in the vicinity of the Graceville of 1878 and 1879 were known as "indemnity lands" of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway. Although the full title to these lands was not immediately secured from the government, Bishop Ireland obtained a contract on a percentage basis with the Railroad Company, whereby he secured several sections of lands to be sold on liberal terms and in small and large tracts to the incoming settlers. As a result of this action, during the months of March, April, and May, 1878, the Colonization Bureau located one hundred and seventy-five families in Bigstone County. "Many of these colonists were poor people who were induced to leave Minnesota towns and settle on the land." However, "The Connemara Colony, of which so much has been said, was a distinct social element from the rest, coming from Europe, wholly unadapted to agricultural life. This has since broken (by 1888) leaving a few families who rank with the first in industrial ability."⁵

There was in England, at this same time, another notable philanthropist, Mr. James H. Tuke, who spent not a little time and money in transporting hundreds of the poorest Irish from

³ J. P. O'Connor to M. J. McDonnell, Graceville, in *The Diocesan Letters*, 1889-1890, 108.

⁴ This information is taken from pamphlets, I and II, entitled, *Graceville*. The contents of Pamphlet I are derived from *A History of Traverse County, Browns Valley, and Its Environs*, published in 1888. Pamphlet II is an advertising pamphlet of the Catholic Colonization Bureau, and distributed by it, beginning in January, 1879. They are to be found in the tax receipt box for lands owned by the Bureau in Bigstone County, in Room 8 of the Chancery Office of the St. Paul Catholic Diocese, 244 Dayton Ave.

⁵ See Pamphlet I, pp. 2-3.

the western counties of Ireland to St. Paul, Swift County, Graceville, Waseca, and elsewhere, during the years 1882 to 1885.

Mr. Tuke was born in New York in 1819, but moved to England at the age of thirty-three years, and later became an English citizen. The effects of the Irish famine of 1846-1848 were still very perceptible when he arrived in England in 1852. As a result of the extreme destitution which continued in Ireland, Tuke became interested in philanthropic work among the poorest citizens.⁶ "Amidst the various phases of the ever-recurring Irish question," he wrote in 1882, "it is pleasant to turn for a moment from schemes of repression to measures of relief." "A few months ago a private meeting of gentlemen deeply interested in the welfare of Ireland, and consisting for the most part of members of Parliament, was held at the suggestion of the Duke of Bedford in Eaton Square. Only one motive prompted their action—the motive of humanity. They knew the condition of the country and could judge its wants. The difficulties which beset governmental action in the way of immediate and effective emigration were fully discussed."⁸

As a result of this meeting, a committee was appointed to investigate emigration from the poor and congested districts in the west of Ireland. In order to give financial assistance and encouragement to the cause, a sum of ten thousand pounds was immediately subscribed. The Duke of Bedford accepted the Presidency of the new organization. Honorable W. H. Smith, M. P., was elected Chairman, and Honorable Samuel Whitbread, M. P., was elected Deputy. "Having only recently returned from Ireland,⁹ where I had spent much time investigating the people," says Tuke, "I was honored by the Committee by a request to give practical effect to their motives."¹⁰

The first point concerning which the Committee had to satisfy itself was the question of the degree of necessity of emigration from western Ireland. In reply to this question, Mr. Tuke explained that in the western counties there was at that time (1882) a population of 1,030,000 people living on 158,400 hold-

⁶ James H. Tuke, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Sidney Lee, ed., XIX, 1224-1225 (New York, 1909).

⁷ J. H. Tuke, *With the Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, James Knowles, ed., XII, July-December 1882, 134 (London, 1882).

⁸ Tuke, *With the Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, XII, 134.

⁹ Tuke spent two months in the west of Ireland in 1880, distributing funds subscribed by "The English Friends." Tuke, *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIX, 1225.

¹⁰ Tuke, *With the Irish Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, XII, 135.

ings. Of this number 77,200 were at or under four pounds valuation, still the rents varied from ten to twenty shillings up to six pounds. The total acreage under cultivation was 584,700, of which 255,100 acres were sown to oats, 212,700 acres to potatoes, and 116,500 acres to all other crops. This gave an average for each holding of about three acres which were capable of immediate cultivation.¹¹

Tuke proved to the Committee that the majority of the small tenants in the western unions¹² were in arrears for rent and shop debts. This was perhaps best shown in the case of Townland Union which consisted of twenty-five families, or one hundred and fifty-seven people, who lived on fifty-seven acres. According to government statistics, the valuation of the holdings on these fifty-seven acres was eighty-five pounds, eight shillings, whereas the arrears for rent and shop debts over a period of three and a half years amounted to more than seven hundred and five pounds for the entire union.¹³

"It is these conditions," wrote Tuke in 1882, "which led to the formation of the Committee in London to which I have alluded. My experience has convinced me that immigration is possible and that it would be acceptable to many."¹⁴

After completing their investigation, the members of the Committee found that their original agreement to furnish half of the fare for each emigrant, with the provision that the several unions provide the other half, was not practicable, due to the extreme poverty of the majority of the inhabitants in western Ireland. Nevertheless, after some readjustments, the details of which we do not know, "The Tuke Fund Committee," as the London Committee was called, arranged for the transportation to America of about three hundred and fifty Connemara¹⁵ inhabitants in April, 1882. Some three hundred and fifty more left in May, and about four hundred others a little later. "All together twelve hundred and sixty-four men, women, and chil-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹² A union was a tract of land as big as eight Scotch, or twelve Welch counties, comprising an average of about 175,000 acres and 20,000 people. Tuke, *With the Irish Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, XII, 147.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁵ Not all of the emigrants came from Connemara. Some came from adjacent districts in western Ireland.

dren migrated to America in the spring of 1882, at a total cost of seven thousand, seven hundred pounds."¹⁶

Just how many of these Irish people who were "booked" for Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Toronto, and Detroit reached Minnesota in 1882, there is no means of telling. The fact that they were booked for Eastern cities would seem to signify that most of them remained in the East for the time being. Since the potato famine of 1880 and 1881 had left so many of the Irish destitute, it is natural to assume that few of these immigrants possessed the capital necessary to begin life in the West. But this group of over twelve hundred emigrants in 1882 marked only the beginning of assisted emigration. Some eight thousand people were sent out from Ireland during 1883 and 1884 through the medium of the "Tuke Fund," which was aided by the English treasury.¹⁷

There were many schemes fostered by Lord Brabazon and others, about 1885, to have the English government advance one million dollars to ten thousand poor families of England and Ireland, in order to enable them to locate on farms in Canada or elsewhere. The money so advanced was to be paid back yearly by the colonists. Tuke opposed such schemes, however, and offered as his chief argument the failure of Sweetman's Currie Colony, and of some of Bishop Ireland's projects, which were attempted by placing men with little or no means on farms in Minnesota. "Even with the most liberal terms of re-payment," Tuke said, "these colonists were not fitted for so great a change."¹⁸ Indeed, so largely have these experiments failed, that Bishop Ireland and Sweetman had to accept only those who had some stake of their own to put in the land. High wages outside led the farmers to throw up their lands in a year or two."¹⁹

In the light of the success of his own "prairie colonists" of 1883 and 1884, it is surprising that Tuke took the decided stand just discussed. That there was a detachment of "Tuke Fund"

¹⁶ Tuke, *With the Irish Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, XII, 146, 150-157.

¹⁷ *State Aid to Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, Jan.-June 1885, XVII, 288 (Philadelphia, 1885).

¹⁸ In this connection, Maguire, in *The Irish in America*, 215, says, "One or two years service with a farmer, particularly with one who has himself earned his competency and comforts through trials, should be deemed an indispensable preparation for the settler before undertaking the clearance of a piece of land on his own account."

¹⁹ *State Aid to Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, XVII, 281-282.

immigrants sent to Minnesota in 1883, there is positive proof; for, in an article entitled, "News From Some Irish Immigrants," written by Tuke in 1889, he quotes from a letter of November 5, 1888, by Father Martin Mahoney, "who accompanied and took charge of a detachment of immigrants bound for Minnesota in 1883."²⁰

In discussing these immigrants, Father Mahoney says, "That Minnesota has been the land of fulfillment is very tellingly shown by the numbers who have every year kept coming from Toronto and other places in Canada²¹ and from Ireland, encouraged by good reports and often helped by the prepaid passage tickets of their friends in St. Paul. The continuous growth of St. Paul and Minneapolis these late years has occasioned an unlimited demand for just the sort of labor and service suited to immigrants from Ireland—common labor for men and boys, and housework for girls. There is work for every comer who can handle a pick and shovel and never at less than \$1.50 per day. Even in winter men get \$1.25 a day for cleaning off snow and ice from the streets and street car tracks. For women wages range from \$8 to \$16 a week in private families, hotels, boarding houses, and laundries. Being so accustomed to renting, unlike other immigrants, they do not build homes, but live in meager surroundings, being afraid to put their savings anywhere except in their stocking or in the bank. But during 1887 and 1888 more of the emigrants were buying houses and lots."²²

The contents of this letter, all of which has not been quoted, show the progress and well-being of the Irish immigrants, not only in the cities, but also in the farming districts where many of them located.²³ Conditions were so promising, in fact, that the "Tuke Fund" Committee sent another group of settlers to Minnesota in the spring of 1884. This group proved to be of such a superior class, that Bishop Ireland wrote a complimentary letter to Mr. Tuke, commending him for the excellent

²⁰ J. H. Tuke, *News From Some Irish Immigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, Jan.-June 1889, XXV, 43 (London and New York, 1889). Surely, if these were average citizens of western Ireland, they would not have had a capital outlay of their own large enough to begin farming.

²¹ We should not assume that all of the ten thousand Irish emigrants of the years 1882, 1883, and 1884 came to the United States, for many of them first settled in Canada, and some went to Australia. See, Tuke, *News From Some Irish Immigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, XXV, 431.

²² Tuke, *News From Some Irish Immigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, XXV, 435.

²³ *Ibid.*, 435.

type of citizen he was adding to the State. Indeed, Dr. Ireland was so pleased with the new colonists, that he supervised the placing of thirty "Tuke Fund" families in 1885.²⁴

"It was perhaps this group which was sent to Graceville, or maybe it was a larger group a year or two previous," said Mr. O'Connor in discussing the Graceville Colony. "So many of the Connemaras (so-called) came here between 1880 and 1885,—some in large and others in small numbers, that I can't remember which group went to Graceville, and which went to Swift County, etc.; but on the whole they were fine people, and helped build up the State wherever they went."²⁵

That some of these settlers from the west of Ireland, either the assisted immigrants of Father Nugent's shipment in 1880, or of the "Tuke Fund" groups of the years immediately following, secured lands in Graceville from the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota, we have positive proof. In a letter of March 29, 1889, O'Connor, the Business Secretary of the Bureau, wrote to his land agent in Graceville as follows, "You might explain . . . to the Connemara settlers, that if they do not settle according to the notices they will have to deal directly with the Railroad Company."²⁶ Then, on April 1, 1889, O'Connor enclosed an itemized list of amounts due the Colonizing Company from Irish settlers on lands in the vicinity of Graceville. This list shows that in 1882, 1883, and 1884, many of the immigrants secured (through the Bureau) farms of 160 acres upon which, in 1889, they still owed amounts ranging from \$110 to \$240, plus interest from the time of purchase.²⁷

²⁴ *State Aid to Emigrants, in The Nineteenth Century.*

²⁵ This statement was secured in a conference with Mr. O'Connor, 2057 Selby Ave., St. Paul. In the article on *State Aid to Emigrants*, in Vol. XVII of *The Nineteenth Century Review*, p. 289, Tuke defends the character of his emigrants, saying that only twenty paupers were sent out from Ireland among the ten thousand who left during the years 1882, 1883, and 1884. This defense was perhaps necessary because of the bad reputation of the early Connemaras of 1880.

²⁶ O'Connor to M. T. McDonnell, Jr., March 29, 1889, in *The Diocesan Letters*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Same to same, April 1, 1889. It should be interesting at this point to describe the contract which existed between the Bureau and its land agents throughout the West. The agent usually received fifty cents an acre for each acre sold in his district. In the case of the sale of all of the Bureau's land in Traverse County to J. H. Meagher in 1890, the agent was asked to take twenty-five cents an acre as his commission. Since the lands were sold for \$5, of which \$4 had to be paid the railroad company, the Bureau officials thought that fifty cents an acre was too much for the agent. Although O'Connor says that this Traverse County sale, and the sale (also to Meagher) of 3498 acres of the Bureau's land in Bigstone County just before it, was due to the fact that the Bishop was anxious "to wash his hands out of the land business," on March

In conclusion, we may well say that the story of Graceville and the "Tuke Fund" immigrants in that vicinity and elsewhere, is simply the story of all Irish colonization in Minnesota, accompanied by perhaps a slightly less degree of distress and privation in some cases. This may be accounted for first, because the benefactors and the beneficiaries themselves had learned much from the rather unfortunate experiences of their predecessors. Secondly, it may be accounted for in that many of the Graceville and "Tuke Fund" settlers came at a time when Minnesota had been developed to a far greater degree than was thought possible by the colonists who migrated to "the wild open prairies" a decade or so before. "Nevertheless, the Conne-maras had their happy and their sad moments," said J. P. O'Connor, "for was there ever an immigrant or a promoter of immigration,—Irish or otherwise, who didn't have his ups and his downs in the radical change from life in the Old Country, to life in the virgin prairies of our own State, Minnesota?"²⁸

Whether the census reports show that Irish colonization "paid" would depend entirely upon one's point of view. To the officers of the colonizing companies it was undoubtedly disappointing to find that only 313 people of Irish birth had remained in Murray County by 1890, and that only 197 of the Irish-born immigrants had remained in Nobles County by that date. So far as the writer is concerned, facts and figures notwithstanding, he feels that, in the light of the motives which impelled the movement, one may safely say that the colonization phase of Irish immigration to Minnesota was, in a large measure, successful.

HOWARD ESTON EGAN

Chicago, Illinois.

30, 1892, the officers of the Bureau refused to consider R. R. Johnson's offer to buy all of Bishop Ireland's Swift County lands, because many better offers had been received and rejected. See O'Connor to Tyler, at Fargo, Dec. 29, 1890; Jan. 5, 1890, and March 30, 1892, in *The Diocesan Letters, 1890-1893*.

²⁸ This statement was secured in a conference with Mr. J. P. O'Connor in the fall of 1924.

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NOTE: This biography would be incomplete, from the writer's point of view, unless mention were made of the receipt of highly informational letters from: Rev. Francis Schaefer of Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, October 18, 1924; Vincent O'Reilly, 132 E. 16th St., New York, December 16, 1924; Michael Leary, 3610 Pine Grove Avenue, Chicago, February 18, 1925, and Hon. P. H. Rahilly, Lake City, Minnesota, June 1, 1925.

MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

I

The life, death, and resurrection of Mission San Juan Bautista are inspiration to faith, hope, love, and the perseverance that leads to success. As a unit it has not heretofore been written. An effort is now made to let the story tell itself direct from documents, decade by decade, as link by link in a rosary to which again "a cross is hung."

In the year 1776 the presidio and mission of San Francisco were founded by Lieutenant Moraga and Father Palóu, and the pueblo by Don Juan Bautista de Anza, under the cross and flag of Spain.¹ Bolton's statement that "within seventy-five years San Francisco was to become the western gateway of the new American nation,"² has its counterpart in the story of Mission San Juan Bautista—mission now for the Orient.

On May 7, 1769, in the Diary of Fray Juan Crespi, appears the first reference to the beautiful San Juan Bautista Valley. On Sunday, after the celebration of Mass, and a few hours spent in the journey, the name was given. "I called the place the Valley of San Estanislao, and the father president called it San Juan Bautista,"³ Father Crespi describes it as a lovely spot of pasture, trees, running water and live oaks, referring later to its wealth of roses. The Indians were numerous. Two decades of mission building passed. San Juan Bautista was "founded" at the expense of the Catholic King of Spain, Carlos IV (may God keep him), and on the order of his Excellency Señor Marquis de Banciforte, Viceroy of Nueva España, in this place called by the natives Popeloutechom, and by ours since its first discovery San Benito."⁴

The Mission was commenced "the very day of the Holy Titular Patron, June 24, 1797, on which I the undersigned President of the Missions of New California committed by his Majesty to

¹ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Palóu's New California*, I, lvii.

² Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, 276.

³ Bolton, *Crespi-Missionary Explorer, 1769-1774*.

⁴ MS. Archivo de la Mision de San Juan Bautista—Libros de Mision, Libro 1 (Bancroft Collection).

⁵ "The steam called San Benito by Crespi was San Juan Creek" Bolton, *Crespi*, 281.

the Apostolic College de Propaganda Fide of San Fernando of Mexico in the presence of the Reverend Apostolic Preachers, Fray Magin Catala and Fray Joseph Manuel de Martiarena, of the troops destined to garrison the present establishment and of many heathen of the vicinity who showed themselves very well pleased, blessed the water, the place and a large Cross which we venerated and raised on high." . . . "Thus this locality was constituted a Mission dedicated to the glorious Precursor of Jesus Christ our Lord the Senor Juan Bautista on his own day."⁶

Blessed by sunshine, soft breezes, splendid water facilities, and unusual fertility of soil San Juan Bautista Mission and village grew and flourished. Little skirmishes were quickly settled and its neophytes numbered thousands of happy Indians.

"On the thirteenth of June, 1803, our Catholic Monarch, Señor Don Carlos IV reigning in the Spains, may God guard him, and his Excellency, Señor Don José de Iturrigaray, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of the kingdom of New Spain; Colonel Don José Joaquin Arrillaga, being governor *ad interim* of the Peninsula of Alta California; Fray Fermín Lazuén being President of the missions; and Fray José Manuel Martiarena and Fray Domingo de Iturrate, ministers of this mission of San Juan Bautista, was celebrated the blessing and laying of the cornerstone of the new church, which began the same day at four o'clock in the afternoon; at which solemnity were present the Reverend Father Minister of Santa Clara, Fray José Viador, as Priest [celebrant], Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, Alférez of the cavalry of the Presidio of Monterey as Sponsor, and as assistants the Señors Captain Don José de Font, surgeon from the Presidio, Don Juan de Dios Morelos, and the Sergeant of the Royal body of the Artillery, José Unzueta.

"In the hollow of the cornerstone various pieces of silver of all coinages were placed and at their right a bottle stopped with sealing wax which contained a paper of these contents, and in certification thereof have affixed their signatures

Fray José Viador	José de la Guerra
José de Font	Juan de Dios Morelos
	José Unzueta."

San Juan Bautista Mission was accomplished, the chapel built. Vocational school progressed; music, sewing, horticulture and agriculture were taught. Spanish as well as Indian, shepherds and vaqueros morning and evening answered the Angelus call to prayer. Pueblo San Juan at the foot of Gabilan Mountain between San Joaquin Valley and the coast lifted its rose trellised roofs over Spanish and Indian families, and men eager for conquests and the spread of civilization and spiritual-

⁶ MS. Archivo de la Misión de San Juan Bautista.

⁷ MS. Direct translation from the Mission Book of San Juan Bautista.

ity in the "name of God and King" found rest and inspiration in the fertile valley. Frays José Maria de Zalvidea, Pedro Muñoz, Estevan Tapis, José Viador and others of equal valor left indelible imprints upon priceless manuscripts in the mission and names upon the ceaseless waters of the San Joaquin.

On September 21, 1806, Fray Pedro Muñoz and Lieutenant Moraga left San Juan Bautista in search of new mission sites. They traveled east and north until they reached a broad stream which gaily they called Las Mariposas (Butterflies). Then on up the plains under burning skies with tantalizing mirages they rambled with thirst unquenched until, after many days, as in answer they found the "Nuestra Señora de la Merced," the river of mercy flowing down from the snows of Yosemite. Of the many streams they crossed these only I mention, because they glide again into the story of San Juan Bautista. Rio de los Santos Reyes (Kings River), which also follows the threads of a later chapter, they left with the designation given it by Zalvidea.⁹

In 1810 Lieutenant Moraga in company with Fray José Viador made another trip into the San Joaquin from Mission San José and returned over the mountains to the land of plenty, San Juan Bautista.¹⁰

In consequence of havoc wrought by one of several earthquakes, a new church was built and on June 23, 1812, "Lieutenant Colonel José Joaquin de Arrillaga being Governor of the Californias and Fray Estevan Tapis being President of the missions, 'there was celebrated the blessing of the new church, at which solemnity the Reverend Father Ministers of the missions of San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San José were present.' Don Manuel Gutiérrez, a resident of Los Angeles, was sponsor and signed the certificate."¹¹

In 1813 a decree of the Spanish Cortés carrying out the idea that the mission system was only a temporary expedient to teach the Indians religion, self government, and support, gave

⁹ Muñoz, *Diario de la Expedición hecha por Don Gabriel Moraga, Alfréres de la Compañía de San Francisco á los Nuevos Descubrimientos del Tular, 1806*. MS. in Bancroft Library. See Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 52-53 (footnote).

⁹ Zalvidea, *Diario de una Expedición, Tierra adentro, 1806*. MS. in Bancroft Library, University of California.

¹⁰ Viador, *Diario ó Noticia del Viage que acabo de hacer por mandate del Sr. Gobernador y Padre Presidente con el objeto de buscar parafes ó Sitios para fundar Misiones, Agosto 1810*. MS. in Bancroft Library.

¹¹ Archivo de la Mision de San Juan Bautista.

San Juan Bautista little concern. The Indians were still pupils, the missionaries most careful teachers. Even when, in 1821, Don Augustin de Iturbide with a victorious army proclaimed himself Emperor Augustin I of Mexico, and the Spanish flag, so long companion of the cross in California, floated away across Pacific waters, the spirit of Spain remained. Remained while Father Tapis lived.

In 1825, November 4, so says the Mission Book,

"the corpse of the Reverend President Fray Esteban Tapis, who was president of the missions of California for many years was buried in the presbytery at the gospel side of the church of this mission [San Juan Bautista]. He was minister in San Carlos, San Louis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Luis Rey, Santa Ines, La Purisima . . . he was a truly evangelical hero—he was outstanding in the prudence he showed towards all the living, particularly towards Superiors, and officials who lived at the time he held office—with the result that he was loved by all, religious, military men, countrymen and Indians. He preached continually and with fervor—he taught the children when it was possible the first rudiments of school—he wrote music for the singers in the church"—he was very eager and efficient in the discharge of his priestly duties. He received the sacraments from the hands of the Father Prefect Sarria and of Father Arroyo and other spiritual aids in the presence of Fathers Jose Viador (of Santa Clara) and Bonaventura Fortuny (of San Jose) and of the said Gil de Taboada (Santa Cruz). He died at 2:10 in the afternoon of November 3."¹²

II

Under the rule of Mexico on November 13, 1828, a new set of colonization rules went into effect. Contentment breathed no more in California. Revolution after revolution, election after election followed in quick succession. "The wonderful triple system of Spanish colonization: religious, by missions; civil by villages; and military by presidios; which was established and executed by various royal decrees from 1767 until the epoch of the separation of New Spain from the mother country," had vanished.¹³

In 1834 statistics show for San Juan Bautista Mission: 1,450 Indians, 9,000 horned cattle, 1,200 mules and horses, 900 goats and hogs, 3,500 crops of wheat and maize. By 1842 secularization had left nothing for the Indians. They were driven back to the hills without clothing or food, to be hereafter known as "horsethief Indians." Eighty are said to have remained as

¹² Libro de Entierros de la mision de San Juan Bautista, certificate by Reverend Fray Gil Taboada, November 4, 1825, fol. 154.

¹³ Halleck's Rep. 141, Appendix No. 1, Supreme Court of the United States, Brief of Appellee, James R. Bolton, 1859.

slaves of Spanish families. The Religious had only a church and curacy. Statistics show that over the former mission lands roamed 800 cattle, 500 horses and mules, 2,000 goats and hogs. Crops had dwindled to one-third the amount yielded under clerical supervision.

"Under the Spanish Government a courier, setting out from Guamas every three months, crossed the Gulf of California in a schooner, and landed at Loreto. From thence letters were carried by land to the various missions as far as Monterey. This means of communication has ceased for a long time, and now they remained often a whole year at Mexico without receiving any news from California in 1842."¹⁴

San Juan Bautista became Juan de Castro. The Reglamento of March 1, 1840, did not, as romantic writers have said, make for California "the splendid idle forties: the golden age of fame." It stilled the songs of songs, trampled the altar roses and hushed the bells in the belfries. Spain was gone, Mexico was indifferent, the United States feared. France and England called.

Through many years the Boston trading ships had been bringing men who married and remained as one with the Californians. Overland from the United States came covered wagons with families of settlers. California statesmen realized that they could not stand alone. Of Latin blood, they instinctively turned toward France.

In 1840 by order of the Council of Louis Phillippe, M. Duflot de Mofras, an attaché of the French Legation in Mexico, was detached from that post and commanded to make a reconnaissance of California and Oregon. The book which he wrote during his travels included "natural history, climatology, social conditions, politics, legislation, and religious instructions, and contained even plans for the soundings of harbors with sailing directions for entering them from ocean to ocean." The work so pleased Louis Phillippe that he ordered a two-volume edition published in Paris. "It is a book of the highest authority, and was doubtless prepared as a hand-book for the acquisition of California by the French."¹⁵

¹⁴ Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies et de la mer Vermeille, exécuté pendant les années 1840, 1841 et 1842, par M. Duflot de Mofras, Attaché à la Légation de France, à Mexico*. Paris, 1844. p. 222.

¹⁵ Appendix to Brief of Appelee in the United States vs. James R. Bolton, Supreme Court, December Term, 1859.

In 1846 the Californians, exasperated by the exactions, oppressions and indifference of Mexico met in an Extraordinary Convention, "Junta," in Monterey. The speech there delivered by Governor Pio Pico, clearly sets forth their very difficult position.¹⁶

"We possess a glorious country, capable of attaining a physical and moral greatness corresponding with the grandeur and beauty which an Almighty hand has stamped upon the face of our beloved California . . . Although we live in the midst of plenty, we lay up nothing; but, tilling the earth in an imperfect manner, all our time is required to procure subsistence for ourselves and our families. Thus circumstanced we find ourselves suddenly threatened by hordes of Yankee emigrants, who have already begun to flock into our country, and whose progress we cannot arrest. . . . *They are cultivating farms, establishing vineyards, erecting mills, sawing up lumber, building workshops, and doing a thousand other things which seem natural to them, but which Californians neglect or despise.*"¹⁷ . . . I see no disgrace in the last refuge of the oppressed and powerless and I boldly avow that such is the step I would have Californians take. *There are two great powers in Europe.* . . . I pronounce for annexation to France or England, and the people of California will never regret having taken my advice. . . . Nay, does not every man abhor the miserable abortion christened the 'Republic of Mexico,' and look back with regret to the *golden days of Spanish monarchy!* Let us restore that glorious era! Then may our people go quietly to their ranchos, and *live there as of yore, leading a merry and thoughtless life, untroubled by politics or cares of State, sure of what is their own and safe from the incursions of the Yankees.* . . . "

The Assembly gave ready response to Pio Pico's call, "France or England, never the Yankee!"

Then arose the more northern, hardier, cosmopolitan, clearer visioned General Don Mariano Vallejo. Acknowledging Pio Pico's contention that longer to expect help or protection from Mexico would be "idle and absurd," he asserted that California

¹⁶ The superfluous words in this speech differ in the two translations: The U. S. Appellants vs. James R. Bolton, and Lieutenant Revere, U. S. N., *A Tour of Duty in Californias including a Description of The Gold Regions and An Account of the voyage around Cape Horn*, edited by Joseph N. Balestier, of New York, 1849. In Bancroft Library.

¹⁷ The italics are to bring out the salient points of his discourse.

in electing a governor, had already taken the first step towards independence.

"Another step remain to be taken," he continued. "I will mention it plainly and distinctly: *"it is annexation to the United States.* In contemplating this consummation of our destiny, I feel nothing but pleasure, and I ask you to share it. Discard old prejudices, disregard old customs, and prepare for the glorious change which awaits our country. Why should we shrink from incorporating ourselves with the happiest and freest nation in the world destined soon to be the most wealthy and powerful? Why should we go abroad for protection while this great nation is our adjoining neighbor? When we join our fortune to hers, we shall not become subjects, but fellow-citizens, possessing all the rights of the people of the United States, and choosing our own federal and local rulers. We shall have a stable government and just laws. California will grow strong and flourish, and her people will be prosperous, happy, and free. Look not, therefore, with jealousy upon the hardy pioneers who scale our mountains and cultivate our unoccupied plains; but rather welcome them as brothers, who come to share with us a common destiny."¹⁸

The Assembly adjourned suddenly without action. Vallejo filed with the governor his protest against any project having for its adoption protection other than that of the United States, mounted his horse, and rode northward from Monterey. Pio Pico and Castro remained staunch in their dislike for the Americans, the driving back or enslaving of the Spanish padres' advanced Indians—the helpless third in the inevitable triangle. By decrees of the Mexican government *Mission San Juan Bautista* was mission no longer, but a something between a storehouse and a barracks, although the roses bloomed and Mass was said in its chapel. As early as February 27, 1839, three prefectures had been designated "two for Alta California and one for Baja California; the respective capitals being at San Juan de Castro (*late mission of San Juan Bautista*), Los Angeles and La Paz . . ."¹⁹ San Juan is "not dead, but sleepeth."

¹⁸ Liet. Revere, U. S. N., *A Tour of Duty*, pp. 28-30.

¹⁹ Prefectures: Arrillaga, *Recopilación*, 1837, p. 202; translated by F. Hall in *History of San José*, p. 154.

III

Across the western waters, over the snow capped mountains, past the rolling waves of the Mississippi, even to the banks of the Potomac, was carried the rumor "Californians seek English protection!" France was forgotten. Boston sailing vessels saw, even as in an earlier century Spanish frigates had seen, the Union Jack fluttering too close to Pacific shores. Thinking men, such as Senator Thomas Benton and others in the Halls of Congress, realized that, not north and south, but east and west were the salient points in nationality. They saw, too, that the strongest tie between Atlantic and Pacific must be a railroad. Thus, not war, but engineering, brought to our slope the never forgotten but often maligned, John Charles Frémont.²⁰

When late in the year 1845 Captain John Charles Frémont, on a surveying expedition for the United States arrived in California, with him were no military trappings nor any soldiers. His party, about sixty-two in all, consisted of surveyors, frontiers men, trappers, and five Delaware Indians. Government reports contain the history of that agonized journey. Frémont, the chivalrous, comments generously upon the unflinching courage of his companions. Exhaustion of men and horses, natural beauties of climate and flora, and indignation at the sudden transition from hospitality to insult on the part of the natives, led the young captain to spend the winter of 1846 in California.

From "Captain Sutter, who was a Mexican magistrate, I obtained a passport to Monterey for myself and my men."²¹ From Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento in Captain Sutter's launch he sailed to Yerba Buena (San Francisco), spent a few days there with Vice-consul Leidesdorff, visited the New Almaden quicksilver mine, in company with Captain Hinckley, and, on January 14, 1846, after finishing a letter to Mrs. Jesse Benton Frémont, set out toward evening with Mr. Leidesdorff for Monterey. The next night they stopped at Don Antonio Sunol's rancho. Their host was a "lover of nature," and the country was beautiful. The next day they crossed the Salinas River, "reached Monterey, and went directly to the house of our consul Mr. Larkin." Finding Governor Pio Pico had gone to Los Angeles, they called upon the commanding officer, General Don José

²⁰ Cf. Allen Nevins, *Frémont: The World's Greatest Adventurer*, New York, 1928, 2 vols.

²¹ Frémont, John Charles, *Memoirs of My Life*, p. 451.

Castro. Captain Frémont told the General and other officers that he was engaged in surveying the nearest route from the United States to the Pacific Ocean. He said:

"I informed them further that the object of the survey was geographical, being under the direction of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, to which corps I belonged; and that it was made in the interests of science and of commerce."²²

General Castro with courtesy granted the permission. Captain Frémont went back to Sutter's on the Sacramento and returned down the San Joaquin to the fertile plains of San Juan Bautista, noting day by day, as had Fray Juan Crespi in the previous century, the loveliness of flowers and birds, sunrise and sunsets.

"A few scattered flowers were now showing throughout the forests, and on the open ridges shrubs were flowering; but the bloom was not yet general. . . . Over the face of the country between Santa Cruz and Monterey, and around the plains of San Juan, the grass, which had been eaten down by the large herds of cattle, was now everywhere springing up and flowers began to show their bloom. In the valleys of the mountains bordering the Salinas River wild oats were three feet high and well headed."²³

Tranquility brooded over the land, peace in the hearts of the men. Time to go through the pass into the San Joaquin Valley and away again drew near, when, one dreamy afternoon the "quiet of the camp was disturbed by the sudden appearance of Lieutenant Chavez, a cavalry officer, with two men and a communication from the commanding general." This letter from General Castro peremptorily ordered all Americans from the territory of California and demanded instant compliance. Amazed, Captain Frémont replied:

"I desired him to say to General Castro that I peremptorily refused compliance to an order insulting to my government and myself." However, he hastily moved his camp to a stream near Gavilan Peak and in the morning the party followed a wood road up the mountain to a spot "which afforded wood, water and grass; and commanded a view of the surrounding country, including the valley of San Juan and the Salinas plain. In case

²² *Memoirs*, p. 454.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

of exigency it opened a retreat to the San Joaquin."²⁴ On the summit a fort of logs was erected and a flagpole prepared.

The American flag, thrown to the breeze by the hand of Captain John Charles Frémont on Gavilan Peak, March 1846, for the first time floated over the land of California. Three days the flag waved. Then, seeing Castro in the valley below near the "late" Mission San Juan Bautista preparing for war, the surveying party discreetly moved northward.

In a letter to Mrs. Frémont, dated April 1, 1846, the captain describes the event and continues: "Of course I did not dare to compromise the United States against which appearances would have been strong; but, although it was in my power to increase my party by many Americans, I refrained from committing a solitary act of hostility or impropriety."²⁴ Frémont's star part had been played upon the stage of San Juan Bautista, but ere he left the lovely spot he gave a lasting thought to coming California. He wrote:

"The blue fields of the nemophya and this golden poppy represented fairly the skies and gold of California." The poppy, the flower he paused to gather in San Juan Valley, is the state emblem, the blue and gold are California's colors.

California became a state in the Union, electing as her first United States Senator, John Charles Frémont. Among the delegates to the convention in which he was elected were native Californians, José A. Carillo, J. M. Covarrubias, Pablo de la Guerra, Manuel Dominguez, Antonio M. Pico, Jacinto Rodriguez, and Mariano G. Vallejo; from Spain Manuel D. Pedro Rena and Pedro Sansevaine from Bordeaux.²⁵ Good fellowship prevailed and miracles were wrought in that convention. Of the native Californians, Herbert E. Bolton, Director of the Bancroft Library and creator of Spanish-American history in the University of California, says:

"It was the opinion of travelers of that time that the Californians were superior to other Spanish colonists in America, including Mexicans. And the superiority was variously ascribed to the greater degree of independence, social at least if not political, which they had attained through their far removal from Mexico and their lack of intercourse with the other colonies; and to the fact that, after the first settlements were

²⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 459.

²⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 461.

²⁵ Ross Browne, *Debates of the Convention of 1849*.

made, the greater majority of new colonists were of good Castilian blood; and to the influence of California itself. However, that may be, the life of the Californians presented phases not always seen in Spanish colonies. The beauties and graces of the Spanish character flowered there; and the harsher traits were modified. Perhaps the Californian bull fight may be cited as typical of this mellower spirit, for it lacked the sanguinary features which characterized the national sport in Spain and Mexico."²⁶

While men busied themselves with land claims, Indian reservations and other affairs of state, two dainty girls with the piety and grace of Spain and happy freedom of California began to write their names in the annals of San Juan Bautista, names that in the passing years became strangely mixed. For the Rose of the Rancho, Rose Castro, the second nun of California, sleeps in the Convent garden at Benicia beside the grave of Maria Concepcion de la Argüello, who with her entered the Dominican order after listening to a sermon delivered by the Spanish Bishop, later Archbishop Alemany, in Santa Barbara in 1852, while her sister Maria Antonia Castro became the heroine of romances and plays and is still called "The Rose."

"In answer to your question about Rose Castro," wrote Reverend Hugh Lavery, the Maryknoll missionary, March 11, 1919, "I want to say that the grave at San Juan Bautista which is looked upon as that of Rose Castro is the grave of Maria Antonia Castro. Jean Wharton Tully of Gilroy wrote a romance around the life of this girl and called it 'Juanita of San Juan.' When the story was shown to Belasco, the playwright, he decided to put it on the stage under the name of 'Rose of the Rancho.' The Rose that his play refers to is Maria Antonio Castro whose grave may be seen at San Juan Bautista. She is buried in the side aisle. Her son, Mr. Guadalupe Anzar, is still living at San Juan at the age of 77. He goes to Mass almost every morning."²⁷

Continuing the traditions of Franciscans and Dominicans the mission San Juan Bautista is being restored to its original charm by the Maryknoll Catholic Foreign Missionary Society. On the chain of missions along the Camino Real San Juan Bautista has for many reasons been regarded as the "treasure

²⁶ Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*.

²⁷ Rev. Hugh Lavery, first Maryknoll missionary to San Juan Bautista, in a letter.

house." Some of the vestments sent by monarchs of Spain to Mexico are said to be still at San Juan Bautista.

"Father Walsh, an energetic New Yorker who radiates the high pressure activity of a busy business man, founded the Maryknoll society eighteen years ago. It now has fifty-nine houses with its priests working extensively in China, Manchuria, and Korea."²⁸ Thus this story has run from Occident to Orient in Mission San Juan Bautista.

Yet, again quoting from Bolton, "California of our time commemorates the day when a people possessed by the energy of labor came to the Golden Gate. But it still bears indelibly stamped upon it, the imprint of Spain."²⁹ The imprint is best typified in the annual fiestas at San Juan Bautista.

On March 4, Native Sons³⁰ and Native Daughters of the Golden West assemble to celebrate Frémont's Day. Men and women form a horseback procession along the trail where he once rode to Gavalin Peak. The Stars and Stripes are thrown to the breeze on the spot where first our flag was raised in California. Cannons are fired, and, as night's shadows fall Spanish life comes back again; bonfires are lighted, national anthems sung, and the happy day closes with supper and dancing. For a week fiesta lingers. Many have attended Mass in the mission church in the morning and bowed their heads to the Angelus bells.

Again comes silence. Three moons roll away. Again is fiesta, the day of San Juan Bautista, he who taught in a wilderness and is now venerated in a garden spot. At 11 o'clock on the 24 of June 1929 High Mass was celebrated by priests of Maryknoll wearing the vestments of Spain.³¹ Later a play, "The Kingdom of Content," was enacted in the plaza by the "Daughters of the Dons," with Edward Preston Murphy from Santa Clara College in the principal part, that of Father Tapis.* As on Frémont Day there was a barbecue and hundreds, even thousands of visitors.

From Occident, the Franciscans, to Orient, the Maryknolls, Mission San Juan Bautista has seemed to slumber but is now

²⁸ Gilbert Gordo, Staff Correspondent, Pacific Coast News.

²⁹ Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*.

³⁰ "Hijos del país," the first order of Native Sons, was organized at San Juan Bautista by José de Castro for political purposes.

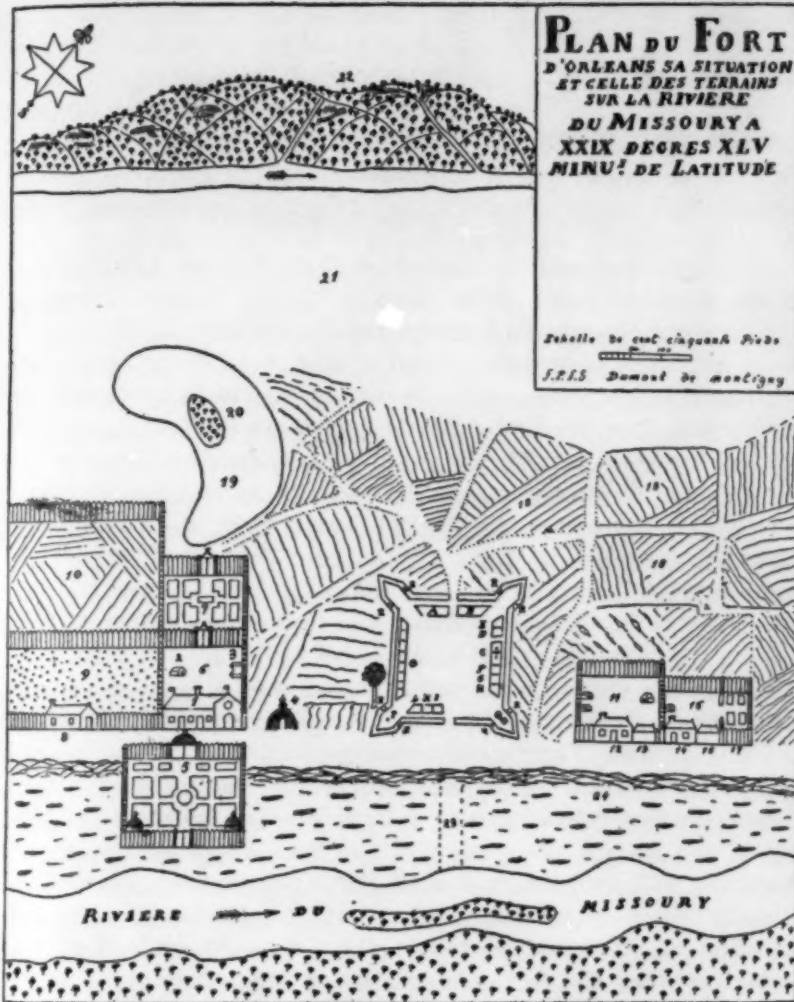
³¹ These beautiful vestments are at least 132 years old. The Maryknoll Fathers maintain missions in the Orient.

* The play was not historically accurate, but charmingly entertaining.

awake. Here its story has been told as link by link in a rosary, to which again "a cross is hung."

MAY STANISLAUS CORCORAN.

Berkeley, Cal.



PLAN OF FORT ORLEANS

Its location and that of the lands on the river of the Missouri at XXXIX degrees XLV minutes of latitude.

Scale: one hundred and fifty feet.

Explanation of the alphabetical letters: A, Commandant's house. B, Officers' house. C, Chapel. D, Blacksmith's house. E, Forge. F, Chaplain's house. G, Storekeeper's house. H, Store. I, Guard-house. K, Drummer's house. L, Laundry. O, Barracks. P, Flag-staff. Q, Powder magazine. R, Embrasures for the cannon.

Explanation of the figures: 1, M. DeBourmont's house. 2, His poultry-house. 3, His oven. 4, Ice-house. 5, Big garden. 6, His yard. 7, Little garden. 8, Store. 9, Field of tobacco. 10, Plot used as a kitchen-garden. 11, M. St. Ange's yard. 12, His house. 13, Storeroom. 14, House of M. St. Ange, *his* officer. 15, Storeroom. 16, His yard. 17, Little garden. 18, Soldiers' field. 19, Pond. 20, Island. 21, Prairie. 22, Big hills two leagues distant from the fort. 23, Road from the river to the fort. 24, Little embankment fifteen feet high.

DOCUMENTS

A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PLAN OF FORT ORLEANS ON THE MISSOURI.

DRAWN BY DUMONT DE MONTIGNY

The plan herewith presented of Fort Orleans (1723-1728) on the Missouri River in the present Carroll County, Missouri, was recently brought to light by the Baron Marc de Villiers of Paris, who has kindly forwarded a sketch of it together with accompanying explanation to the editor of MID-AMERICA for reproduction. Two studies of Baron de Villiers in Mississippi Valley history are especially noteworthy, *Les Années Dernières de la Louisiane Française* and *La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort Orleans* (1673-1728), Paris, 1925, the latter work throwing considerable light on the first French military post built on the Missouri River. The following is cited from a study appearing in the *Missouri Historical Collections* (June, 1928), 5:263: "It was the generally accepted belief at one time that Fort Orleans was situated on an island and it is so shown on a map in Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, published at Paris in 1758. The first historian to fix its location with anything like accuracy is the Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, an outstanding contemporary authority on all matters pertaining to the French occupation of the Mississippi Valley. . . . Baron de Villiers's researches on Fort Orleans are embodied in a study which he published as recently as 1925. By a careful collation of all available documentary data he arrived at the conclusion that the fort was located on the left or north bank of the Missouri at the Tetsau bend about two miles above the outlet of the Wakenda River in the present Carroll County. Now comes the Dumont de Montigny map [Karpinski photostat, Newberry Library, Chicago], and places the fort in a location almost identical with that assigned to it by the Baron. According to Dumont de Montigny, Fort Orleans was on the left bank of the Missouri, on the mainland and not on an island, and further up the river, apparently by a mile or two, than the point where the Baron de Villiers placed it."

It will be of interest to point out that the chapel indicated in the plan is, apart from the Jesuit mission-church at the

River Des Peres, St. Louis, 1701-1703, the first known house of religious worship in the State of Missouri.

A translation of Baron de Villiers's brief account (in French) in explanation of the plan follows:

"No plan of Fort Orleans, founded in 1723 on the Missouri River a little above its confluence with the Grand River, had been discovered before the finding of the one we are reproducing in this Review. This plan is preserved in the Colonial Office in a carton containing documents which have only recently been classified.

The numerous colors used by Dumont de Montigny unfortunately cannot be reproduced by photography and the ink used for the inscriptions has faded in places to such an extent that several of them are hard to decipher. We therefore thought that a cut from a very exact drawing¹ would allow the reader, much better than would a poor photogravure, to get a clear idea of the arrangement of the fort and its outbuildings.

Dumont de Montigny's plan shows that the settlement founded by Veynard de Bourgmond was more important than might have been supposed. Moreover, the document seems quite accurate, for Bourgmond in his correspondence² speaks of "the apartment which served as a church," of the store, the powder-magazine "situated in one of the bastions," the houses of the chaplain and the tool-maker, the forge, the ice-house and of his [the commandant's] poultry-yard, around which he had had to erect a palisade to protect his chickens and pigs from the voracity of the Kansas Indians' dogs.

In January, 1724, the house built by Bourgmond on his particular concession was still without a real chimney. "We used to make the fire," he says, "in the center of the house as the Indians do." The house was thatched with grass and the walls were of plain unsquared logs. Later, no doubt a chimney was built, and to make the house more comfortable, the logs were covered with a sort of mud, a mixture of clay and straw. For this latter moss is often used in America as a substitute.

One may note a certain architectural finish in the gable of the commandant's house, in the embellishments which adorn the doorways, no two of which are alike, and in the care with which

¹ Both figures and letters have been shifted slightly to make it easier to read them. Part of the legends were written at the bottom of the plan.

² See "*La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort d'Orleans*." Paris, Champion, 1925, Chapter VIII.

the flower and kitchen-gardens had been laid out after the French style. Bourgmont evidently had confidence in the future of his establishment in Missouri and if a wealthy marriage had not prevented him from returning to America, with a chief like him, the future of Fort Orleans would no doubt have been very different.

A rather amusing detail is that the captain's house has three front windows, the lieutenant's, only two, while the ensign has but one. Rigorous regard was paid to rank.

It is somewhat difficult to assign an exact date to the plan, for it does not seem that Bourgmont, the two Saint Ange de Bellerives, and Dumont de Montigny were ever all together at Fort Orleans. The younger Saint Ange came with Bourgmont; his father brought munitions to the settlement in May, 1724, but he does not appear to have remained there long and Dumont was not likely a member of his party.

When, after it had been completely abandoned for a few years, an officer and some soldiers came to reoccupy Fort Orleans, many of the buildings, not having been kept in repair, must then have been in a rather shabby state, and the new commandant must have had to settle in Bourgmont's old house. So the plan seems to us to have been drawn shortly after Bourgmont's departure and at a time when his speedy return was still expected. If this hypothesis is correct, then Dumont's map was probably made between 1725 and 1727.

No account is to be taken of the latitude indicated, which is evidently inexact, and the scale of the plan applies only to the fort and its outbuildings. Besides Dumont takes good care to indicate in the legend that the "big hills" (marked No. 22, and at the foot of which flowed the Wakenda) "are at a distance of *two leagues* from the fort." To judge from the width of the prairie, vaguely indicated by Bourgmont, this distance appears somewhat exaggerated.

Will the discovery of this plan at last make it possible to locate the exact site of the fort of Orleans? This question can only be answered by a study made on the spot. It seems to us that it would be worth while to undertake an exploration so that a cross and a tablet might mark the site of the first chapel and the first fort erected in the State of Missouri.³

³ See in "The Missouri Historical Society Collections (vol. V, no. 3, 1928) the interesting article in which the Reverend G. J. Garraghan has already expressed the same wish.

Two particularly interesting indications are to be noted on Dumont's plan: the first shows that the Missouri, as we have already pointed out in *La Déconverte du Missouri*, did indeed flow in an approximately northeast direction near the fort; the second that a little "ecors" [levee] fifteen feet high protected the establishment against the Missouri floods.

The map also indicates two creeks which it might be possible to identify, for, if the plan is exact, they take their rise northeast of where the hills are highest.

The plan is 38 centimeters in width by 49 in height. The absence of any palisade to the west of the kitchen-garden and the tobacco-field, as well as the fact that no gates are marked, show that for lack of space Dumont could not indicate the exact limits of these two plots of ground.

The site of the Prairie (No. 21), left blank on this map, is studded on the original with irregular spots, which no doubt indicate a somewhat marshy soil."

NEWS AND COMMENTS

A recent issue (May-June, 1929) of *Nova Francia*, a bi-monthly issued in Paris as the organ of the Société d'Histoire du Canada, reproduces the text of a hitherto unpublished Journal of a Jesuit missionary in Louisiana, Père de Vitry. He was chaplain to the troops in a punitive expedition that went out (1738-1739) against the Chickasaw Indians after the tragic overthrow of the French in which perished Vincennes, D'Artaquiette and Père Senat, the Jesuit. Père de Vitry has left us in his Journal a graphic and detailed account of this expedition, an account which is a precious and unexpected addition to the source material for the history of eighteenth century Louisiana. MID-AMERICA hopes to be able in a subsequent issue to lay this remarkable document before its readers in an English dress. The original of the Journal, it may be said here, is in the private archives of the Count E. de Chabannes La Palice and was an interesting feature of the Jesuit documentary material on exhibition in the Exposition Rétrospective des Colonies Françaises de l'Amerique du Nord held this current year in Paris.

The sketch of William J. Onahan reviewed in the present issue of MID-AMERICA revives the memory of an interesting circumstance in the career of that well-known Chicago citizen which connects him with the passing away of Stephen A. Douglas. The Little Giant had died a Catholic, being baptized in his last moments by Bishop Duggan of Chicago, who also delivered an address when the deceased statesman was laid away in his last resting place. A copy of this address, before it was delivered, was made from the prelate's notes by Mr. Onahan, who often served in the capacity of lay-secretary to the former and who in latter years put on record some of the circumstances, as he learned them from eye witnesses, of Douglas's death in the Tremont House, Chicago. Strange that within recent years a new interest begins to center around the personality of this historic figure whose star went into eclipse as Lincoln's began to dominate the political firmament. One often needs the perspective of time to discern the real lineaments of prominent actors in public events and Douglas seems to be a case in point. Genuine appreciation of the man as he was comes to the surface in

Beveridge's *Lincoln* and the author of that noble fragment is reported to have said that if he ever finished that elaborate task in biography he would next take in hand the biography of Lincoln's famous rival.

Professor Hodder of the University of Kansas, than whom no other living student of history possesses a larger range of information on the career of Douglas, has given wide currency to the view that the Illinois statesman's politics in connection with the Kansas-Nebraska bill were motivated by a desire not to extend slavery but to promote the building of railroads through the Trans-Mississippi West. Such a program was impossible so long as the West remained closed to settlers and with a view to open it up to settlement Douglas introduced his famous measure that in the end spelt his own political ruin. It used to be said and perhaps nine-tenths of the history books perpetuate the legends, that Douglas was a pro-slavery sympathizer, that he aimed at the extension of slavery into western territory and that the Kansas-Nebraska bill with its repeal of the Missouri compromise was a bid for Southern support in his alleged overweening ambition to reach the White House. The emptiness of these charges, born of the passions and hatreds of the most virulent period in our national politics, has at last become apparent and Douglas is seen to have played the noble role of a consistent and powerful friend of Western economic development. As an instance of the manner in which this newer estimate of Douglas's political program has won acceptance it may be noted that one finds it embodied in Professor Charles W. Ramsdell's noteworthy presidential address at the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Vincennes, Indiana, April 25-27, 1929. "It is well known now," Ramsdell declared, "chiefly through the studies of Professor Frank Hodder that Douglas's purpose in introducing the [Kansas-Nebraska] bill was to promote the building of a Pacific railroad west from Chicago, not to extend slavery."

DEDICATION OF MARQUETTE-JOLLIET MONUMENT AT GRAFTON, ILLINOIS

Sunday, September 1, 1929, was a day of triumph for the several hundred inhabitants of Grafton, Illinois. On that day nearly four thousand people came by train, by boat, by auto, and on foot to this quiet hamlet where two and a half centuries ago a great event had taken place. Shops and homes were decorated with flags and bunting, which with the sunshine and the Sunday air gave the place the aspect of celebration. Special trains had arrived from St. Louis and the steamer *Capitol* came up from Alton and was docked almost at the very spot where the great event had taken place. Besides men, women and children, there were bands and soldiers and boy scouts and camp-fire girls and, last but not least, the full-dressed Knights of Columbus with their baldrics and with harmless swords at their sides. The occasion was the formal dedication of a monument marking the spot where Father James Marquette, Louis Jolliet, and their five companions entered Illinois in the summer of 1673 by the Illinois river, which meets the Mississippi at Grafton, for here at Grafton the Illinois River enters the Mississippi. Through the generosity of Mr. H. H. Ferguson of Alton this historic spot, which is a part of his eight-hundred acre estate, has been set aside for a monument to commemorate the first entrance of the white man into the present state of Illinois. The celebration was under the auspices of the local Chamber of Commerce, but the monument was the gift of Mr. Ferguson, who has taken a great interest in early Illinois history.

After the singing of "America" the Rt. Rev. James A. Griffin, D. D., Bishop of Springfield, wearing a gold cloth cope and mitre and carrying his bishop's crozier, ascended the steps that lead to the dolomite cross which surmounts a huge natural rock. The bishop was attended by monsignori and priests and the cross was blessed after the traditional manner of the Catholic rite. Mounted on three Calvary steps the cross stands on the ledge of a bluff weather-beaten to a dull grey so that it serves admirably as a background for the cross, which is carved out of the native buff rock. The site, too, is well chosen as the cross is visible for miles up and down the Illinois River. The monument bears the following inscription:

AT THIS PLACE
IN THE EARLY AUGUST OF
1673
MARQUETTE, JOLLIET AND FIVE COMPANIONS
ENTERED ILLINOIS
DAWN HERALDS OF RELIGION, CIVIL GOVERNMENT
AND CONSECRATED LABOR
DEDICATED SEPT. 1, 1929
RT. REV. JAMES A. GRIFFIN, D.D.
BISHOP OF SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Back of the people the Illinois River sparkled in the sunlight as it did that summer day two hundred and fifty-six years ago when its beauty so impressed Marquette. Below the road from which the steps lead to the monument is a plain that was once the bed of the Illinois River but is today dotted with people who have come to attend the pontifical field Mass, the religious feature of the celebration, and the acceptance of the monument by the state, which was the civic feature of the celebration. Near the road a platform had been built, at one end of which was the canopied altar while at the other end were chairs for the choir and distinguished guests. Bishop Griffin celebrated the Solemn High Mass and he was assisted as follows: Rev. Francis B. Kehoe of Alton, assistant priest; Rev. M. J. Cummins of Grafton and Rev. J. J. Clancy of Jerseyville, deacons of honor; Rev. N. B. Schnelton of Brussels, deacon of the Mass and Rev. J. R. Moloney of Alton, suddeacon of the Mass. Msgr. Amos E. Giusti of Springfield and Rev. George Powell of Granite City also assisted. In the sanctuary were Monsignors E. L. Spalding, V. G., of Alton, M. A. Tarrent of Springfield, M. J. Foley of Quincy, and many priests from the adjacent territory. Governor and Mrs. Emmerson and Mr. Caulfield, a brother of the Governor of Missouri, occupied places of honor at the right of the altar.

After the Mass Bishop Griffin spoke briefly of the great debt Church and State owe to Marquette and his intrepid companions and concluded by introducing Mr. Cornelius J. Doyle of Springfield as the chairman of the day. Mr. Doyle made an eloquent speech, in which he emphasized the civic significance of the occasion and the contribution to America that was made by Marquette, Jolliet, La Salle and the early pioneers. Then Mr. J. D. McAdams of the Alton *Telegraph* presented in the name of Mr. H. H. Ferguson the memorial to the state. Mr. McAdams told of the perils faced by Marquette, who came only to serve others,

to bring civilization and religion to the Indians. Generations shall pass, but the name of Marquette will ever be honored as that of a man of sacrificial fervour and it was fitting that the monument should be entrusted to the state that it might be preserved for the generations to come. Then Governor Louis L. Emmerson speaking for the state of Illinois accepted the monument. Among other things he said: "It is a great privilege and a pleasure to appear on the oldest historic spot in Illinois and to realize that soon a water-way system will give this section its opportunity for greatness. Pere Marquette was willing to forego fame and wealth and luxuriated home to explore for the world that tractless wilderness of a foreign land. La Salle sought glory for himself and his king; Marquette sought only new peoples to whose well-being he might contribute."

The celebration was brought to a fitting close by the singing of the state song, *Illinois*. It was an outstanding celebration that spoke volumes for the public spirited cooperation of the People of Grafton and Alton.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S. J.
*President Illinois Catholic
Historical Society*

The sermon on the occasion, preached by Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., Dean of the School of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago, and President of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, follows:

The great American historian Bancroft, writing of Marquette nearly one hundred years ago said, "the people of the West will build his monument." Today we are gathered here in this historic spot to emphasize anew the fulfillment of this prophesy. On this very spot Father James Marquette and Louis Jolliet entered the Illinois River while on their return voyage from the mouth of the Arkansas in the summer of 1673—256 years ago. They were the first white men to view the natural glories of these hills and bluffs where the Illinois River flows into the mighty Father of Waters and we are here today to commemorate that event.

This is not only an historic spot but it is also a holy one, for it is not unlikely that here Marquette celebrated the sacrifice of the Mass, the first time in the present State of Illinois, and hence it is most appropriate that the monument we dedicate today should be the mighty symbol of our redemption and that a bishop should come from afar to celebrate with pomp the same sacred sacrifice that Marquette perhaps then celebrated with greatest simplicity. It is also most appropriate that the Governor of a great state, the ruler of six million people, should honor this occasion with his presence and receive this monument in the name of the State of Illinois because Marquette belongs not only to the Catholic Church but also to Illinois.

It was not only generosity, it was vision that prompted the donor of this vast park and beautiful monument, Mr. H. H. Ferguson, to make all this possible, and it is fitting that he, too, be present on this historic occasion. Not only today and tomorrow but for the years to come this monument will be a testimony that great deeds live after them and that it is not always true that "republics are ungrateful." In these regions this monument and park will tell to future ages the story of Marquette and Jolliet but they will also tell the generosity and vision of H. H. Ferguson.

Bancroft said of Marquette "the people of the West will build his monument"; but the great American historian never dreamed of the vast scale on which his prophesy would be fulfilled. Monuments and memorials honor him in many states and in the capital at Washington his heroic statue is in the Hall of Fame as one of the two representatives of the state of Wisconsin. Counties, cities, towns and a river bear his name, as do universities, schools, buildings and boulevards, while railroads and automobiles carry the name of Pere Marquette to the four corners of the country.

Jolliet too, has been commemorated in statue and story in many ways, especially in Illinois and in Canada where he was born. As a young man Louis Jolliet studied in the Jesuit college at Quebec, where he also began to prepare for the priesthood; but he gave up his studies, moved perhaps by the spirit of the frontier, for adventure and became an outstanding explorer and trader and was selected by Governor Frontenac to conduct the great exploration. Later in life Jolliet explored Labrador and became a government geographer. He was one of the first native Americans to achieve lasting fame.

The name of Marquette became known in Europe as soon as the journal of his explorations and missions was published and his fame has increased because time has shown the accuracy and scientific value of his accounts. He descended from a distinguished French family and at seventeen he became a Jesuit to dedicate his life to religion and education. In spite of a great love of books and the handicap of a frail physique, his zeal prompted him to seek the dangerous and difficult Canadian missions. In 1666, at the age of twenty-nine years, he set out for Quebec to prepare for his mission life among the Indians. During the next six years he was sent to various Indian missions and besides learning six Indian languages he was trained to the hardships of primitive Indian life. From the Indians he heard of a great river which flowed southward but no one knew whither and he also heard of gentle Illinois Indians who worshipped the sun and the thunder. In 1672, while he was at St. Ignace, his friend Jolliet came to him with orders to join in the exploration of the mysterious river. Together they drew maps and prepared themselves for the journey.

The story of this journey of Marquette and Jolliet is known to every school child from the pages of American history; how they were the first white men to make known effectively to the world the great Mississippi River; how they opened up to the world this wonderful valley which today teems with millions of free and happy people. With five companions in two birch canoes, they set forth from Mackinac in May, 1673, skirted along the north shore of Lake Michigan into Green Bay, then up the Fox River and across a short portage into the Wisconsin River until on June 17, 1673, they set eyes upon the great and mysterious Father of Waters—just a month after leaving Mackinac. Down the river they paddled their birch canoes, passing the mouth of the Missouri and Ohio, on and on until they reached the Arkansas where they learned with certainty that the Mississippi

flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. Fear of hostile Indians and the enmity of the Spaniards prompted them to turn their canoes northward and return.

Their return trip was difficult for now they had to paddle against the stream and they were no doubt glad when they reached the Illinois River and found it as Marquette says in his journal "the most beautiful place that they had seen." Friendly Indians assured them that the Illinois River was a shorter route to the Big Lake and the northland. They paddled up the river to Kaskaskia near the present site of Utica and here they were kindly received by the Illinois Indians. Marquette promised the Indians to return later and then the party journeyed on to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier at the head of Green Bay. Here Marquette turned over to Jolliet his diary of the voyage, which had been carefully kept and which is one of the most important documents in American history. Jolliet hurried on to Quebec to announce the great tidings of discovery. Before landing an accident upset one of the canoes and all original maps and journals were lost in the St. Lawrence River.

Today, with our ease and comfort of modern transportation, we marvel at the courage and endurance of these seven men paddling a canoe 2500 miles over strange and treacherous waters with dangers from man and beast on all sides. Four months of mental anxiety and bodily hardship and perhaps failure in the end. Only devotion to God and loyalty to Country can give a reason for such an enterprise and such an achievement.

Marquette had promised the Illinois Indians he would return and the next year, though in feeble health, he canoed with two French servants down the Lake and reached the mouth of the Chicago River. His condition grew worse and his companions forced him to spend the winter in a hut on a site which is now the intersection of Damen Avenue with one of the forks of the Chicago River. With the coming of spring he continued his way to the Illinois Indians by whom he was received "as an angel from heaven" and with whom he made a short stay. They begged him to stay with them always, but Marquette was sick, in fact he felt that his death was near and he wished to die among his own in Canada. His companions accordingly set out with him for St. Ignace, but when they reached what is now Ludington, Michigan, they brought Marquette ashore and there with a calm prayer upon his lips he died May 18, 1675. His companions marked his grave with a large cross and later a band of Ottawa Indians carried his remains to the Church of St. Ignace opposite Mackinac.

Marquette and Jolliet were both, in education and feeling, Catholic and French, but both were so broad in their sympathies and understanding that they have been eulogized by English as well as French, by non-Catholic as well as Catholic. Though Marquette was a priest and a Jesuit, non-Catholic writers and historians like Jared Sparks, and Reuben Gold Thwaites have always taken him to their hearts and have seen in him not only an intrepid discoverer but a true disciple of Jesus Christ. They have paid tribute to his modest bravery, to his exquisite scholarship, to his human sympathy, and especially to his supreme sanctity, seeing in him another Christ yearning to spend himself for others and like his fellow-missionaries, Jogues and Brebeuf, to die for Christ.

Marquette was a man of delicate health and unfitted for the rough life of the wilderness. His was a gentle manner but it concealed a will of iron. His dominant desire was to seek new lands and to carry to them the gospel of Christ. His model in this mission was the great St. Francis Xavier who spread the faith through fifty-two kingdoms in Asia. In many respects Marquette's life paralleled

that of St. Francis Xavier, for when death overtook him on the lonely shore of Lake Michigan he gave thanks that he could die as he had always prayed like St. Francis Xavier, who a century before expired forsaken on the Island of Sancian off the coast of China.

We are here to celebrate the glory of Marquette the missionary and of Jolliet the explorer, and to dedicate this imperishable dolomite to their memory. Both these men were devoted to a cause that should make an appeal to us today, two and a half centuries later. Marquette dedicated his life to God, Jolliet dedicated his to country, and in these dedications we see the fulfillment of a perfect life. This theme is too vast for my feeble words yet it is such an inspiration that we men and women living in the region of the lakes and rivers traversed by Marquette and Jolliet, must ask ourselves whether we are following in their loyalties, in their devotion to God and Country.

Both these men ennobled their lives by devotion to a cause; they gave much but they also received much, for they had the consciousness that their service to God and Country was also service to their fellow-men. Both Marquette and Jolliet had learned the great secret of life, that it is more blessed to give than to receive; that we get out of life what we give to it and that the joy is greatest when we give most. Like Marquette and Jolliet may we render our services with gentle power, intrepid ardor and sincere piety.

Though men readily forget, the dead two and one half centuries have not dimmed the memory of Marquette and Jolliet and this new monument, dedicated to the fine idealism of their lives, will perpetuate that memory for centuries to come.

BOOK REVIEWS

My Minnesota. By Antoinette E. Ford, Chicago, Lyons and Carnahan, 1929, 416 pp.

In the volumes appearing lately which deal with Minnesota and the Northwest one meets with what might be called a strange silence in regard to the finding of the Rune Stone. Discovered near Kensington, Minnesota, in 1898 this stone with its fourteenth century message in runic characters concerning the Norsemen and Goths lost in the northwestern wilderness, seems too startling a thing to be true; it may be a monstrous hoax and then again it may not be. It has had valiant champions contending for its genuineness; in the periodicals of the Minnesota and Wisconsin State Historical Societies a great deal of literature pertaining to it has appeared for years, especially for instance, in *Minnesota History*, volumes I to VIII. In the *Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1920, Dr. Francis J. Schaeffer lists fifty-two articles published up to that time alone in prominent magazines in America and Europe on this subject. One would imagine that at least a paragraph could be fitly devoted to the Rune Stone and to the evaluation of its authenticity in any historical work dealing with Minnesota.

In view of this apparent attitude of extreme caution and suspicion toward the Rune Stone, one is doubly surprised to find the author of *My Minnesota* boldly asserting that Radisson and Groseilliers in 1655 discovered the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, tarried there three weeks and ascended the river and Lake Pepin. Whether these redoubtable explorers ever reached the Mississippi at any point is a much disputed question and the weight of learned opinion until clearer historical testimony to the contrary is presented will lean toward the Marquette-Jolliet claim of discovery in 1673.

With these two points duly disposed of, one cannot but give generous praise to *My Minnesota* not only as a textbook for boys and girls, but as an engaging bit of reading to anyone interested in the state of ten thousand lakes. It is not a mere history in the ordinary sense; it is an intelligent description of the agricultural and industrial development of Minnesota. Social and economic matters, often difficult of simple treatment, are handled in a way to make them easily digestible by the

youthful mind. The author is eminently fair in her unfolding of the part Catholicity played in the development of the state's history. However, without in the least detracting from this statement, it might be mentioned that in describing the now famous execution of the thirty-eight Indians at Mankato in 1862 after the Sioux Massacre, she merely states that "the good priest, Father Ravoux from St. Paul, said a prayer in which the Indians united." As a matter of fact, Fathers Ravoux and Somereisen baptized thirty of the thirty-eight Sioux and gave Holy Communion to three of the others, Catholic half-breeds.

The author's choice of illustrations for the book could not be improved upon either from the point of beauty or of practicality. A nicely arranged index adds to the volume's serviceability.

MATTHIAS M. HOFFMAN.

Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics. By Charles Edward Merriam, New York, Macmillan Company, 1929.

To one desirous of learning about the machinery of government in Chicago, the name of Charles Edward Merriam as author gives promise of interest and information. In *Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics* this promise is amply fulfilled. It may hardly be necessary to state that Mr. Merriam is professor of political science in the University of Chicago, served as alderman in the City Council of Chicago for six years, and has been a participant in numerous studies of local affairs, such as municipal expenditures, for example. He has both theoretical and practical knowledge of his subject. Bibliographical foot-notes add to the value of the book.

In view of the bad name Chicago has at home and abroad, it is reassuring to be told that "gangland" represents only one phase of the city's life. The Chicago Plan, being gradually carried out by the "city builders," demonstrates the fact that many Chicagoans have high ideals of their city, physical, mental, and moral, and these ideals are taking form in beautiful buildings, fine streets, parks and forest preserves, great universities and various foundations for social betterment. "In Loyola, Father Siedenbergh particularly has interested himself in the social development of Chicago from the scientific point of view."

Chicago is unique in that its population of four million has been reached in less than a century. Such phenomenally rapid growth from French discovery to negro immigration, during

which nearly every nationality on the globe has played a part in local affairs, has naturally created unusual conditions. The racial element, however, is only one of many making up the organization known as the City of Chicago. There are the political parties, business interests, the press, women voters, religious groups, civic societies, labor, professional groups and others. Also, within the government there are many independent governmental bodies, such as the Sanitary District, Board of Education and Park Districts. "The overlapping and confusion of these governments presents a very serious problem of political control." Add to this confusion the action and reaction of various races, parties, interests, and groups and it becomes evident that there are many hindrances to efficient government.

In regard to religion, Mr. Merriam says: "The raising of religious issues without warrant or relation to the actual problems of the time inevitably affects city government detrimentally and those who stir the embers of religious rivalry and bitterness, whatever their motives, serve the city badly."

A study of political conditions necessarily includes a study of the men and women who have influenced those conditions. We are given pen pictures of mayors, "bosses," labor leaders, welfare workers, leaders of "big business," both men and women. "These sketches are not designed as fundamental studies of political traits, but to illustrate the political life of Chicago." In the political make-up of Chicago we find characteristics of each of its leaders, whether politicians, as Thompson, Deneen or Harrison, representatives of corporations like Insull, philanthropists such as Rosenwald, idealists like Jane Addams.

The chapter "Actual Government" describes the functioning of the City Council, the duties of an alderman, and the scope of the Mayor's office. There is an interesting paragraph giving a glimpse into the minds of aldermen undecided as to how to vote on a proposed ordinance. "Their minds are running swiftly through the possibilities. How will it affect them? What will their boss say? What will the newspapers say? What will the administration . . . say? What will the Municipal Voters' League say? What will the gang say?" To quote again: "Administration is an organ with many keys, and many tempos and varying volumes of sound; and skill lies in the combinations that produce harmonious music."

In the concluding chapter the writer speaks with optimism of the future of Chicago. "The strength of Chicago lies in its

broad economic basis, in its new blend of racial types, in its dynamic energy . . . in its free spirit. . . . These are not destiny itself, but the materials out of which the garment may be woven on the loom of time."

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL.

Life of William J. Onahan. Stories of Men Who Made Chicago.

By Mary Onahan Gallery, Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1929, pp. 74. Price \$1.50.

This is an interesting little book about a man whose memory deserves to be rescued from the encroachments of oblivion. It will be of particular interest to anyone who happens to be, like the present reviewer, a minute particle of Chicago in the days of Mr. Onahan's prominence. He was a shining star in my boyhood firmament, a remote star that swam into my ken on great occasions when he awarded prizes at school commencements or stood on reviewing stands with other personages. As I analyse my young impressions, he was in appearance a composite of an ambassador, a poet, and a retired cavalry leader. The excellent likeness, which serves as the frontispiece of the present volume, bears out my early impressions. It is the sensitive face of a poet, like Coventry Patmore's, with something of the hawk-like dash and fearlessness one sees in a picture of General Roberts.

Mr. Onahan was undoubtedly the most conspicuous, and probably the most energetic lay Catholic in Chicago during the days of its early growth. He came to Chicago a poor boy with little formal education. His triumph over the drawbacks of poverty and deficiency of schooling is an all but incredible achievement. He must have inherited the tastes of a scholar and virtuoso; but the process of developing them demanded the sacrifice of such leisure as could be spared from the exactions of bread-winning. He was the recipient of the Laetare Medal in 1890, and, three years later in recognition of his services in the Catholic Congresses of Baltimore and Chicago he was made a Camereri of the Cape and Sword by Pope Leo XIII. Both honors indicate national rather than local prominence.

And, yet, while Mr. Onahan was winning national distinction as a Catholic scholar, he was all the time a notable figure in the business and politics of his city. I do not know what Mr. Onahan's political ambitions were; but I suspect, whatever they were, he realized them. He was, of course, a purist in politics; and, I suppose, a purist cannot hope to go far in political life

unless he has genius and inclination. The striking thing in Mr. Onahan's career is that, with his tastes and ideals, he engaged actively in political life at all. And, more striking still, that he should have wrested a certain measure of success from elements of the electorate not particularly favorable to political purists. Needless to say, his influence in this sphere was helpful to coreligionists in the perennial handicap of hostile environment. Probably it was this consideration which reconciled him to activities remote from his natural tastes.

Mrs. Gallery has written her book with filial care and affection. But she does not leave the reader satisfied. All the signs are here of an extraordinary man. We do not see the man himself. What kind of man was this who was on easy terms with old Carter Harrison and Phil Armour, who was the friend of bishops and archbishops and cardinals, on the one hand, and of the notorious Mike McDonald, on the other; who was taken into the intimacy of the great Archbishop Ireland; who knew equally well Celtic manuscripts and the tracasseries of Chicago politics; who was at home in fashionable drawing rooms, on college platforms, in Catholic congresses, at noisy political rallies, and knew how to preside at a meeting of bank-directors? There is opportunity here for portraiture, but this book does not seize it. The final impression is admiration, seeking explanation and meeting disappointment. No doubt space-limitations had much to do with this result; also, perhaps, the intelligible reticences of one writing the life-story of a parent. But one hopes that a biography of Mr. Onahan on a scale and with an adequacy of portrayal proportionate to his unique position in American Catholic church history for half a century will be taken in hand.

JAMES J. DALY, S. J.

Die Kongregation De Propaganda Fide und ihre Tatigkeit in Nord-Amerika. Von R[aymond] Corrigan, [S. J.], E. Joergen, Munich, 1928, pp. 183.

Within recent years public attention in this country has been directed to the Congregation De Propaganda Fide, usually designated by the familiar abbreviation of Propaganda. Founded in 1622 under Gregory XV and entrusted with the care of all the Catholic Missions of the world, it commemorated in 1922 three glorious centuries of achievement. This occasion gave birth to extensive laudatory literature on the part of both Catholic and

non-Catholic writers. Even before this the action of Pius X (29 June, 1908), removing Canada and the United States, together with several other countries, definitely from the jurisdiction of Propaganda, centred attention on the labors of this famous Congregation.

But the reviews and appreciations were of a general character. No one had ever devoted a critical and searching study to the part Propaganda played in the development of missionary activity in America. The work of Dr. Corrigan, Professor of History in the University of Detroit, has made an excellent beginning, which enables the reader for the first time to appreciate the precise relations of the celebrated Congregation with the establishment and spread of Catholicity on the American continent and the adjacent islands known as the Lesser Antilles.

One might carry away from the reading of this scholarly volume a feeling of disappointment over the small share Propaganda had in implanting the faith in America unless one constantly bore in mind the limits set for himself by the author. He is describing merely the beginnings of the activity of the Sacred Congregation in America, as far as 1700. Hence only a part of a century's work, and that the least brilliant, falls under his scope. This limitation should be noted in the very title to avoid confusion. The sub-title is more precise: "*Die Propaganda in Amerika im 17 Jahrhundert.*"

After a brief preliminary survey and a critical evaluation of the vast source material, the body of the work is divided into three sections or chapters. The first describes the Congregation of Propaganda in general, its origin, constitution, purpose, and the chief problems and difficulties encountered in the functioning of so complicated and far-reaching an organization. A second chapter presents the limited field of activity envisaged by the author, comprising all of America under English and French rule, to the exclusion of the Spanish-Portuguese lands. The latter are excluded because the relations between them and Propaganda are of so diverse a nature that they require special treatment. The Spanish missions had already existed for a century and the hierarchy was solidly established before the missions of the other nations ever came into being. The English-French territory had three political and geographical centres from which radiated the various civil and spiritual influences, viz. Quebec, Maryland, and the Island of St. Christopher.

The fascinating story of their respective struggles and reverses in the spiritual sphere are briefly reviewed. Political machinations, persecutions and lack of cooperation on the part of civil authorities, rather than climatic conditions or the cruelty of the natives, hampered religious development. Yet we are reminded (p. 52) of the remarkable fact that "a religious motive was responsible for the foundation of most of the permanent colonies."

After these preparatory sections the author proceeds to unfold the activity of propaganda in each of the three fields previously described. Here the author is at most pains to give a definite picture. From his scholarly analysis of the three distinct problems and their handling we learn both the weaknesses and the strength of Propaganda influence in the American missions of the seventeenth century.

One of the surprises to the reader is the emphasis placed on the weaknesses. Thus the repeated statement that most of the good work of the missions was going on without even the knowledge of Propaganda comes as a startling revelation. The Roman officials of that century had only the vaguest notions of the geographical situation, so that Africa, the Antilles, Canada, and even Asia, were, more or less, a single confused map to them (cf. p. 47). Communication was excessively difficult; information was hard to obtain, and often given by wild dreamers, whose false representations misled the Cardinals. The latter were soon taught to be sufficiently cautious to "ask for further information," a phrase that recurs with exasperating frequency in the documents. Consequent delays allowed desperate situations to go on for years without receiving proper attention. Besides, there was the ambitious, short-sighted Ingoli, first secretary of the Congregation, who for twenty-nine years (p. 38) pursued an impossible ideal of centralization, and often allowed personal views and selfish aims to dictate his policy. In this instance the secretary was a magnate rather than a scribe. Furthermore there were annoying differences and misunderstandings between the Congregation and the heads of the Religious Orders to contend with, not to mention the differences existing amongst the Orders themselves. With all this accumulation of drawbacks which fill the pages of the Archives of the Congregation, one is inclined to ask, "what did Propaganda do after all to further missionary interests in America? The au-

thor apparently expects the reader to have gathered this impression, for he remarks (p. 174): "The reader will have observed that the history of the missions in North America in the 17th century, especially in Canada and Maryland, would have taken practically the same course if Propaganda had not existed at all."

There is, however, a significant paragraph at the end of the volume which tends to remove this unfavorable impression. Dr. Corrigan says (p. 181): "We have endeavored to portray the activity of the Congregation of Propaganda in English-French America (he might well here again have repeated the important time limit of *the seventeenth century*.) If its positive achievements do not appear very striking, this is not the fault of the Congregation. The latter had after all done what it could; and before the end of the first century of its existence it had full control of the incipient churches in the three parts of the new world. It could afford to wait another hundred years until the natural development of events offered opportunity for further expansion."

Perhaps more prominence might have been given to this exonerating paragraph; the mind cannot so easily shake off its critical attitude gathered from the previous pages. But Dr. Corrigan had not set out to praise Propaganda. He has presented evidence, and that evidence should convince the reader that the great Congregation accomplished, shortly after its inception, what human endeavor might scarcely be expected to accomplish: it had firmly established its mighty organization in our country in the face of a thousand difficulties and was now prepared for a glorious career of two centuries in our midst. There was pioneer work to be done by Propaganda, and it involved both the enormous labor and the apparent barrenness of results which characterize such beginnings.

We may be grateful to Dr. Corrigan for this enlightening, sober history of the beginnings of Propaganda in America which enables us to admire with deeper appreciation the mighty tree that has sprung from so insignificant a mustard seed.

St. Louis, Mo.

ALOYSIUS C. KEMPER, S. J.

Mad Anthony Wayne. By Thomas Boyd, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, \$3.50.

Some years ago the reviewer of this book read Hilaire Belloc's delightful story, *Marie Antoinette*. We intentionally call it

a story for although it is sober history it reads like a novel. Only at times in the dread realities of the difficulties and fighting and executions at Paris does one bring to his mind that he has a history and not a story in his hands. The same may be said of the present biography of Anthony Wayne by Thomas Boyd. The opening chapter has the setting of a novel and throughout the book one must check up the narrative to convince himself that he is reading a biography and that the events are the stern realities of a great war.

Anthony Wayne had a weakness for smart uniforms and smart regiments. The writer of his life seems to know just when and how often Anthony powdered his wig and fixed the ruffles of his coat and how often he insisted on his soldiers shaving and looking their best. But Mr. Boyd also knows just how the English looked and how nature acted. Thus he writes of the last day at Yorktown: "Waves lashed up out of the dark and sent fine salt spray on scarlet tunics. Overhead the skies seemed to crack, resounding louder and louder than the most heartily exploding guns. There were fiercely singing winds that swirled the water triumphantly . . ."

However, the smart clothes did not in any way interfere with the activity of Mad Anthony Wayne. This story of his life takes him quickly through his first campaign, that of Canada, and back to Ticonderoga and the other important battles of the Revolutionary War. Although Lee was fearful about the action of Wayne and Saint Clair was doubtful and Washington hesitated, one important mission after another was given him and he did his work well. His name is closely connected with the storming and capture of Stony Point, but the action was so rapid and the plan so simple, that the event forms a very small part in the life of the general.

A biography like this, where details are possible, brings to our minds the heroic struggles of our ancestors for liberty. Here we read of the disappointments, the jealousies, the misunderstandings, and the long and acute sufferings of both soldiers and leaders; Valley Forge becomes but one of the incidents in the record of heroism.

We believe that the military genius of Wayne is better shown in his minor expeditions than in the great battles for in the latter he was directed and hampered by superior officers. But in his Georgia campaign and his Western expedition

against the Indians he proved that he not only had the courage of a soldier, but the leadership and strategic powers of an officer. Especially during his expedition in Ohio did he show his genius for directing an army. With the terrible defeat of Saint Clair to look back at and with the words of warning and distrust of Washington ringing in his ears and the eternal admonitions of Knox, who was Secretary of War, coming with every courier, it is surprising to find Anthony Wayne pursuing the definite and well-planned policy of a fearless and prudent leader. Possibly no other general who had emerged from the Revolutionary War, with the exception of Washington, could have met and conquered the combined Indian forces of the Western Territory.

All these details are given in this life of Wayne and are told in a fascinating way. As we read of the Georgia campaign, we were surprised to find three hundred Greeks coming to attack our hero; but the explanation was evident on the next page when the enemy became Creeks, and we saw that the printer had made a mistake of a single letter.

At the end of the volume we find two pages of bibliography, but in the text there is not a note or reference. This reviewer is rather old-fashioned and prefers at least an occasional reference; for instance, he would like to know the authority for the statement that there were 12,000 land troops of the Americans in the battle of Yorktown (p. 192). But the modern writer has discarded notes and we must make the best of the situation. It is a delightful biography and we are sure that it will find many an enthusiastic reader.

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

American History. By William H. Mace, Chicago, Rand McNally and Co., 1927, xv + 648 + cxxix pp.

A compendium of facts,—historical, political, military, social and economic. The first three hundred pages follow the usual method of treatment. There is probably more matter pertaining to the affairs of the Old World than can be used profitably in schools which offer a course in medieval history during the second year. The chapter on "The Evolution of the American" is very nicely done. The author has the temerity to add to his calendar the names of several real American heroes who are not mentioned in ordinary texts, and he deals more liberally with men and things of the West.

A great part of the book is devoted to a survey of the fields of economics, social democracy, and the citizen's part in government. It would seem, in this respect, tailored especially well to suit the needs of that group which is calling for a closer inter-blending of the social sciences. To the schools which do not offer independent courses in civics or economics the text will be welcome. The chapter on civics, especially well done, contains sufficient matter to give the student a splendid fundamental knowledge of the part a good citizen should play in helping to carry on the affairs of the State and it is presented in such a way that it should rouse the interest of even a dull pupil.

The tendency to discover a phase or an institution and to follow all of its developments until it reaches its present status would seem to weaken the ties which bind it to other historical phases or institutions and destroy that vital principle which the author says he is so solicitous to maintain,—continuity. There is danger of over-repetition, and a consequent lessening of interest on the part of the reader.

The book is aptly illustrated, and contains a happy grouping of portraits of characters who have done so much for the development of the United States. The forty-six pages of Appendix contain many choice morsels of historical matter, though some difficulty may rise as to the manner of bringing these bits to the attention of the student. There is also a fine chronological outline which should prove of interest to teacher and pupil alike.

RICHARD D. DOYLE, A. M.

Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town. By William H. Townsend, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929, pp. 377.

The reputation of Lexington, quondam "Athens of the West" will not suffer by the publication of Mr. Townsend's book. It is pictured as the gay town of polite western society in antebellum days, when dashing Henry Clay, Sage of Ashland, was the idol of the youngbloods of the Blue Grass region, when the Breckenridges, Todds, Wickliffes, and Menifees attended the dances in Mathurin Giron's hall or went to Madame Mentelle's admirable French school, when Mr. Clay's "Charles" celebrated the well-honored ritual of julep-making, and mammies and their pickaninnies lived in log cabins at the rear of the patriarchal

mansion, or, less romantically, were exhibited for sale on the auction block in Lexington's public square.

The title of the book is well chosen. Mr. Lincoln's connection with Lexington through his marriage with the popular Mary Todd serves as a point for relating many more or less closely connected facts about that lovable town. But whether closely connected or not, they are all interesting. One lays the book down with a feeling that he has come closer to historical friends, has learned to understand them better, to appreciate them and their emotions in their proper environment. One can better understand Lincoln's broad sympathy with the South and yet his realization that slavery was wrong. He saw enough of the trade to understand it, and yet was able, as it were, to stand aside from the whole institution, view it dispassionately, and weighing it, find that it must be destroyed if the Union were to last.

Mr. Townsend's book is well documented and brings out a few new Lincolniana. This book, with Mr. Lewis's recent *Myths after Lincoln* brings out the personality of Lincoln, makes him a living man of flesh and blood. They are not, of course, as thorough as Mr. Beveridge's great work, but they are more human and will probably be more popular.

CECIL H. CHAMBERLAIN, S. J.

Pageant of America, Volume seven, *In Defense of Liberty*. By William Wood and R. H. Gabriel, New Haven, Mass., Yale University Press, 1928. Volume nine, *Makers of a New Nation*. By John Spencer Bassett, New Haven, Mass., Yale University Press, 1928.

The military history of the United States from the Civil War and including the World War comprises volume seven of this series. The work is a continuation of the military history begun in volume six, *The Winning of Freedom*, by the same authors; it flows logically from the political history recorded by Frederick Austin Ogg in volume eight *Builders of the Republic*, which gives the political events and social conditions that remotely and proximately caused the Civil War. John Spencer Bassett in volume nine continues the political history begun in volume eight opening with the time of Lincoln and concluding with the politics of the World War and its period of reconstruction. Both volumes have the same general characteristics of the

series: a rather popularized context with emphasis upon the illustrations which are in practically all cases reproductions of source material much of which is used here for the first time.

DOROTHY CATHERINE KLEESPIES.

The Raven, A Life Story of Sam Houston. By Marquis James, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929.

The Raven might be styled a story of Jacksonian democracy or an epic of the Western frontier before the Civil War. Many regard Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit* a rather grotesque travesty on American life of the same period. James presents, however, a far more graphic picture of the crudeness, vulgarity, boldness, and heroism of the formative period of our American nationalism.

Sam Houston came from a prominent Virginia family. It seemed impossible for him to follow the normal course of orderly society. In his restlessness he often spent long periods with the Indians whose life and manner appealed to him. It is out of this association that the name Raven developed. Throughout his career he was consistently the friend of the Indian and always resented the injustices to which they were subjected by their mercenary and morally uncivilized white neighbors. The personal bravery, sometimes rising to true heroism and commanding genius, of Houston is shown in his personal relations, in the War of 1812, in gaining and maintaining Texan independence, and finally in resisting the secession movement.

Many famous Americans appear in this narrative in such sharp outlines and vivid episodes that an indelible impression is left with the reader. Jackson, the model of frontier life, Calhoun, Webster, Clay, in fact nearly every prominent character of our national life, especially in its bearing on Southern history, from 1812 to 1863, has his part in this biography.

Houston served a short term as governor of Tennessee, represented his state in Congress, removed to Texas, was the hero of San Jacinto, president of the lone star republic, senator, and governor. He was a believer in omens. He often preferred wild associates and from his intemperate life acquired the designation of "Big Drunk." In his quarrels and encounters, he is a counterpart of Jackson, but he was a much better judge of men and their motives than was his political patron. In 1834 Houston, who had once been denied baptism by Presbyterian minis-

ters, became a Catholic. We soon find him, however, joining in a protest with other Texans against religious tyranny, a figment of their imagination. Later in life he became a Baptist.

Houston was generally identified with the Democratic party, but we find him supporting Fillmore as the Know Nothing candidate and later backing Bell of the Constitutional Union party. He had a saner, more sympathetic regard for Lincoln than had most Southerners. Never friendly to the Confederacy, he refused to take the required oaths and ended his career scheming to detach Texas from the Davis regime and again launch an independent republic.

The author has delved into contemporary documents, obscure correspondence, and in fact has completely mastered the historical evidence requisite for his biographical sketch. He is neither a partisan nor hero worshipper. Houston's merits and defects stand out equally. His work is well balanced and his characterizations are not designed to further his own political theories. In this, his narrative stands in sharp contrast with another recent book, "*Hamilton and Jefferson*" by Claude Bowers.

The Raven is a valuable and interesting contribution to the history of Texas and, in a more general sense, of the South prior to and in the first years of the Civil War.

RAYMOND H. BALDWIN, A. M.

Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest. By E. C. Sullivan and A. E. Logie, Chicago, Lyons and Carnahan, 1929, 217 pp.

The story of the founding of the more important of the California missions, San Diego, San Carlos, San Antonio de Padua, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara and others, constitutes the greater portion of this work. Two final chapters are devoted to the old Texas missions and to a mission of Arizona. Interesting legends which add to the romantic lustre of the missions are related; sketches of a few prominent historical characters are drawn more from settings and events than from actual description. The theme of the work is the civilizing influence of the Spanish padres sent out from Mexico to convert the Indians. Miss Ella C. Sullivan, a district superintendent and Mr. Alfred E. Logie, a principal, both in the Chicago public school system, have collaborated in the production of this popularized book.

Though at times the diction is rather advanced, the thought content as well as incidental features immediately place it as juvenile; references are not cited, illustrations are not authenticated or acknowledged. But for the elementary class studying this phase of American history, collateral background reading will be found in *The Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest*.

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